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☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
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Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
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Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

12:32^P AM URGENT 11-23-66 BCE

TO DIRECTOR (100-442529) AND NEW YORK (100-153735)

b7D

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON - ENCODED

FROM ATLANTA 231550

CIRM.

REATTTEL TO BUREAU NOVEMBER 21 LAST, CAPTIONED AS ABOVE.

ON NOVEMBER 22 LAST, [REDACTED] FURNISHED THE FOLLOWING

INFORMATION. [REDACTED]

REC 22

RELAYED TO NY

5 DEC 1 1966

file F493
DEC 6 1966

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
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☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

PAGE TWO FROM ATLANTA 231550

b6
b7C
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[REDACTED] PERTINENT LHM FOLLOW.

AM REGISTERED MAIL COPY SENT CHICAGO.

DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [REDACTED] SHOULD
BE CLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL BECAUSE THIS SOURCE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION
FURNISHED BY THIS SOURCE TO UNAUTHORIZED INDIVIDUALS COULD
REASONABLY RESULT IN JEOPARDIZING HIS SECURITY.

RECEIVED: 1:01PM MCS

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 12/16/66

FROM : *WJ* SAC, KNOXVILLE (100-3520)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C
(OO: New York)

ME This letter is being submitted in lieu of a quarterly report.

No information has been received by the Knoxville Office by any source reporting any Communist influence in racial matters as set forth in Bureau letter to Albany 8/28/64.

Any information of a pertinent nature received in the future will be reported.

- 100-442529-20*
- ② - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - New York (Info) (CIRM) (RM)
 - 1 - Memphis (100-4070) (Info) (RM)
 - 1 - Knoxville

TAS/pae
(5)

REC-51

EX-104

g
100-442529-2078

DEC 19 1966

56 DEC 22 1966

INT. SEC.

F B I

Date: DEC 28 1966

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, MIAMI (100-15058) (P*)

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C *CIRM*Re Miami airtel and LHM dated 12/14/66, captioned
"COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, ORGANIZATION, IS - C," containing
information on 12/3-7/66 CPUSA National Committee Meeting.Enclosed for the Bureau are 9 copies, for New York
10 copies, and as designated for other recipient offices, of
an LHM containing information from [REDACTED] about the
12/8/66 Negro Commission meeting.

b7D

The LHM is being shown as emanating from the New
York Office in order to more adequately protect the identity
of [REDACTED] an informant of continuing value whose dis-
closure would have an adverse effect on the national defense
interests.The names of individuals attending were received
by [REDACTED] on 12/22/66 and
are as follows:③ - Bureau (Enc-9) *ENCLOSURE*

REC 53

100-442529-2097

3 - Miami

(1 - 100-15058)

(1 - 100-15181)

RLO:sll

(34)

(Copies cont'd page 2)

AGENCY: ACTL, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.;
[REDACTED], CRD, RAO

DEC 29 1966

b3
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b7E

Wick

61 JAN 18 1967

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

100 AT 4 LHM 924 970

Copies (cont'd)

- 10 - New York (Enc-10) (RM)
 (1 - 100-153735) (CIRM)
 (1 - 100-80641) (CPUSA Organization)
 (1 - 100-86624) (CPUSA International Relations)
 (1 - 100-) (CPUSA Political Activities)
 (1 - 100-84275) (WILLIAM PATTERSON)
 (1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON)
 [REDACTED]
 (1 - 100-9369) (TED BASSETT)
 [REDACTED]
- 2 - Albuquerque (Enc-2) (RM)
 (1 - 100-) (CIRM)
 [REDACTED]
- 2 - Baltimore (Enc-2) (RM)
 (1 - 100-) (CIRM)
 [REDACTED]
- 5 - Chicago (Enc-5) (RM)
 (1 - 100-) (CIRM)
 [REDACTED]
 (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
 [REDACTED]
- 2 - Cleveland (Enc-2) (RM)
 (1 - 100-) (CIRM)
 (1 - 100-) (PHIL BART)
- 2 - Los Angeles (Enc-2) (RM)
 (1 - 100-) (CIRM)
 (1 - 100-) (WILLIAM TAYLOR)
- 3 - Philadelphia (Enc-3) (RM)
 (1 - 100-) (CIRM)
 [REDACTED]
- 2 - Washington Field (Enc-2) (RM)
 (1 - 100-) (CIRM)
 [REDACTED]

b6
b7c

MM 100-15058

WILLIAM PATTERSON
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
DEBBIE AMIS
WILLIAM TAYLOR
JAKE GREEN
JOE from New Mexico
ISHMAEL FLORY
JAMES JACKSON
PAT TOOHEY
JACK KLING.
BILL CRAWFORD from Philadelphia
PHIL BART
AL SIMON
R. STOREY
TED BASSETT
CLARA COLON
JIM WEST
BILL from Washington, D. C.

Informant advised there were two or three additional persons present, names not recalled.

ISHMAEL FLORY has already been quietly working on arrangements for the Afro-American Conference.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

DEC 28 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-153735

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On December 12, 1966, NY T-1 advised that a meeting of the Communist Party, United States of America, (CPUSA) Negro Commission, was held on December 8, 1966, at the Wellington Hotel, New York, New York. The Chairman of the meeting was WILLIAM PATTERSON, the Reporter, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, and the Secretary, DEBBIE AMIS.

The meeting lasted nearly five hours. However, much of the time was taken up by speakers relating civil rights activity and problems in their local areas. As a result, the meeting wandered from one topic to another in the civil rights field without any objective thought being given to the subject matter of Party policy. The meeting did agree on the following areas of activity:

1. The CPUSA should develop support for the 185 billion dollar "Freedom Budget" proposed by A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, prominent civil rights leader, to eliminate poverty and slum areas during the next ten years. *USA*

2. The CPUSA will wholeheartedly support Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, New York City Congressman, in his fight to retain his seat in Congress and chairmanship of the House Labor and Education Committee. The Party feels that POWELL is a roadblock in the path of anti-labor and anti-Negro legislation. The Party will portray Congressmen and individuals who are against POWELL as white supremacists and as anti-union. The Party will state that the attempt to oust POWELL is a direct attack on the Negro people and must be defeated. *DC*

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~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

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R209 DEC 30 1970

ENCLOSURE

100-447579-2049

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

3. A large Afro-American Conference, national in scope, is planned for the Spring of 1967 in New York, New York. The purpose of the conference will be to aid the emerging nations of Africa and a protest against the imperialistic policies of the United States. The conference ostensibly will be sponsored by a large number of well-known civil rights and anti-imperialist leaders.

The Party has already begun working quietly on this project.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-153735

DEC 28 1966

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Memorandum dated and captioned as above at New York, New York

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

b6
b7c

FBI

Date: 1/5/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL-REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-26)
FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-943)(P)
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Los Angeles airtel and letterhead memorandum
(LHM) to the Director dated 12/20/66.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 12 copies of a LHM
dated and captioned as above. One copy is designated for
Bufile 100-442529 (CIRM).

Local military agencies, the U.S. Secret Service,
Los Angeles, and the U.S. Attorney, Los Angeles, have been
furnished a copy of the LHM.

Informants and sources of the Los Angeles Division
have been instructed to report any racial situation immediately
to the Los Angeles Division. As additional informants and
sources are developed, they are instructed to do the same.

Investigation of the Brooks Foundation in Santa
Barbara, set out under Section II, was conducted by SA GORDON B.
PLAYMAN.

The following sources were utilized in this LHM:

- ③ - Bureau (Encls. 12) (RM) (URE)
(1 - 100-442529) (CIRM)
2 - Los Angeles
(1 - 100-66078) (CIRM)

IDJ/jae
(5)

Agency G-2, ONI, OSI, CRD

Date Forw. JAN 11 1967

How Forw. RS

By CAP/ll

NOT RECORDED

157-6-26-9-151
165 JAN 16 1967

JAN 7 1967

SUBV CONTROL

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ORIGINAL FILED IN

LA 157-943

Source

Identity

1

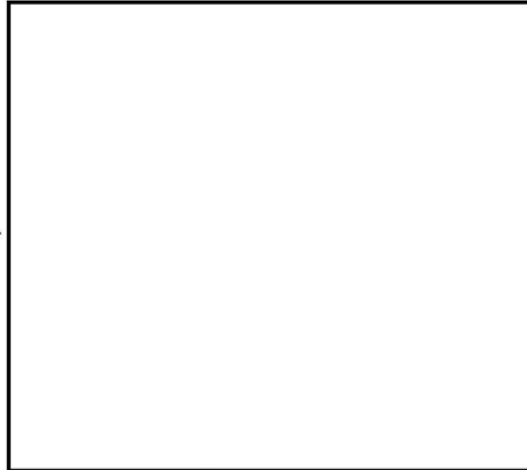
2

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6



b6
b7C
b7D

This LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ because data furnished by sources 1, 3, and 6 could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise the effectiveness thereof.

In the two-week period from 12/18/66 - 1/1/67 nine potential criminal informants and no potential security informants were advised according to Bureau instructions regarding the Bureau's continuing interest in racial matters.

Close liaison is being maintained with representatives of police departments and sheriff's offices regarding the current racial situation in the Los Angeles Division.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Los Angeles, California
January 5, 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group I~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

100-442529-

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The information set forth is based on the comments and views of local government officials, police officials, leaders of various racial groups, established sources, and public source information, and pertains to the racial situation as of the time the comments and views are expressed; the possibility that the racial situation in a particular area may abruptly change at any time should be taken into consideration.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

- I. NAME OF COMMUNITY, CURRENT OVER-ALL
POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE RELATIONSHIP
OF NEGRO OR OTHER PERTINENT RACIAL
MINORITY POPULATION TO OVER-ALL POPULATION

No change.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

II. GENERAL RACIAL CONDITIONS

Los Angeles, California

On October 25, 1966, source 1, a highly placed official in the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), advised that on October 24, 1966, LAPD officers, in response to an anonymous telephone call observed two male Caucasians and two male Negroes in an alley at 95th Street and Central Avenue, Los Angeles. The men advised they were making a "research and training" film for the Teen Posts in the area. The men were using an automobile bearing the word "Police" on the front doors, and uniforms resembling those worn by LAPD officers were observed in the car. The two male Caucasians interviewed were Stephen Grumette and Albert Lambrosa. Grumette stated he represented the Brooks Foundation of Santa Barbara, California.

Source 1 advised on October 25, 1966, that the name of Steve Grumette was maintained on the mailing list of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP)(see appendix) on September 23, 1966.

On December 8, 1966, Mr. Russell Furse, Executive Director, Brooks Foundation, 2020 Alameda Padre Serra, Santa Barbara, advised the Foundation was engaged in research and development of instructional communications. He stated the motion picture referred to above was a legitimate project of the Foundation and they had notified the LAPD six weeks in advance that they would do location shooting at 110th and Wilmington Streets, Los Angeles. He stated they had also advised the LAPD on the day they had done the film. Furse stated they were making a study of anti-social persons in the Negro community and the project was intended to help some of the Negroes in the Watts area to "work out their frustrations in a community project." He stated it was not the intention of the Foundation to encourage any riot or

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
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unlawful action. He stated the story line of the film was in the hands of a Baptist church Teen Post in the Watts area, headed by Bill Marshall, and Furse had suggested they delete the portion of the film concerning police brutality. Mr. Furse stated Steve Grumette was hired as a temporary cameraman for the film and stated Albert Lambrosa, of the Brooks Foundation, based in New York City, was project director. Budd Schulberg was initially responsible for interesting the Foundation in the film project.

There is no information in the files of the Los Angeles Office identifiable with Albert Lambrosa or the Brooks Foundation.

Budd Schulberg (Seymour Wilson Schulberg)

On June 19, 1952, Schulberg, a Hollywood writer, admitted to a Special Agent of the FBI that he had been a member of the Communist Party in Hollywood, California, from approximately 1937 to 1940. He identified 16 other individuals as members of the Communist Party during this same period. He also names communist-dominated organizations with which he had been associated up to 1949.

On October 24, 1960, source 2 advised that in October, 1960, Schulberg appeared to be "very far left of center" but appeared to be "bitterly anti-communist."

On December 8, 1966, source 3 advised the Brooks Foundation appeared to be a legitimate organization and neither it nor anyone connected with it had ever been connected with any subversive organizations in the Santa Barbara, California, area.

In the "Daily Variety," magazine of the Hollywood movie industry, issue of November 11, 1966, Page 1, was an article reporting the Watts Film Festival, set up to show new movies to

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
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residents of the depressed area for 25 cents a ticket, had an immediate obligation of \$3,000 which had to be met within six weeks. The article pointed out weekly expenses for the Festival were \$110; however, a maximum of \$150 per week was taken in in admissions. Bruce Corwin, Co-director of the Festival, indicated the possibility of aid from some government agency to help the Festival continue in operation.

In the "Open Forum," publication of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Southern California, issue of December, 1966, Page 1, was an article reporting that four Police Malpractice Complaint Centers sponsored by the ACLU had received 79 allegations of police misconduct since opening their first office in Watts in July, 1966. In 43 of the allegations, staff members of the centers recommended formal complaints be filed with appropriate reviewing authorities. Among the allegations were 15 cases of false arrest, 17 of brutality and 11 complaints ranging from homicide to verbal abuse.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of December 10, 1966, I-3, was an article reporting that Edward Lee King had been convicted of arson in connection with the Watts riot of August, 1965. He was convicted largely on the basis of an anonymous confession on television, and on "voiceprint" testimony identifying his voice as that of the individual who appeared on television. He is due to be sentenced on January 17, 1967.

In the "Pasadena Star News," newspaper of Pasadena, California, December 16, 1966, I-6, was an article reporting that Paul Jacobs, a staff member of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, had been present as a speaker at a two-day conference at the University of Southern California (USC) on December 15 and 16, 1966. The conference analyzed the McCone report on the Watts riot of August, 1965. Jacobs stated Los Angeles police had "the image of a combat

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
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RACIAL MATTERS

organization for South Los Angeles residents." Jacobs criticized the McCone report for the "attitudes of its authors." He stated the McCone Commission intended to defend the LAPD before they began their investigation.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel," Los Angeles Negro newspaper, issue of December 22, 1966, Page 1, was an article reporting the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency (EYOA) had agreed to forward a request to Washington, D.C., for funds to finance two thirds of \$270,000, the cost of building a new "Watts Happening" coffee house in the Watts area of Los Angeles.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 22, 1966, Page 8A, was an article reporting the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) had already trained and placed more than 200 people in various jobs in the Los Angeles area and the outlook for jobs in 1967 was very favorable. The OIC had been financed for the first nine months by a Ford Foundation grant, and is now attempting to raise \$100,000 in a fund drive to continue operations.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 22, 1966, Page 10B, was an article reporting many job openings were available through the offices of the Los Angeles Urban League. There is no charge for this service either to applicant or employers.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 22, 1966, Page 2A, was an article reporting that the Community Conservation Corps (CCC), an adjunct of the Watts Labor Community Action Committee (WLCAC), had received confirmation from the Department of Labor that they would receive a total of \$325,725 to further their program through June, 1967. The CCC project serves 1,400 to 1,800 children and young adults in the Watts area of Los Angeles. The Corps manages recreational, educational and social activities in the area.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
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In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 29, 1966, Page A3, was an article reporting the Community Skill Center was in operation at 150th and Figueroa Streets in Los Angeles. The Center is funded by a 3.5 million dollar Federal grant to train people in the poverty area for jobs.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of December 23, 1966, I-3, was an article reporting the Apartment Association of Los Angeles County had taken sharp exception to a suit by the California Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) which resulted in a Reseda, California, property owner being ordered to reserve one apartment for possible use by a Negro. The Association issued a statement that the property owner had been "deprived without trial or chance to defend himself in the use of his property for at least 15 days and possibly several months." The Association stated the property owner was forced to hire an attorney while the plaintiff was furnished free counsel. The statement concluded that the Rumford Act under which the suit was brought denied apartment owners "the right...in American jurisprudence that no man is guilty until so proved."

In the "Los Angeles Times" of December 30, 1966, I-3, was an article reporting that Paul Bullock, University of California at Los Angeles economist, stated that as long as the poor in Watts take the cynical view that a job is only a source of money and not a step toward a career, the war on poverty would not succeed. He stated nothing in the background of the youth in the ghetto suggests any certainty of reward as a result of self-sacrifice. He stated it may not make good sense to a Negro poor person to "give up hustling 'pot' in order to concentrate on a car wash job." He speculated that "white collar" crimes of income tax cheating, price fixing and usury "rob society a great deal more than do the dramatic crimes of the urban ghetto."

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

III. CURRENT EVALUATION OF VIOLENCE

Los Angeles, California

On December 20, 1966, source 4, a Negro who is closely associated with the Negro community in Los Angeles, advised he believed the situation in the Watts area of Los Angeles had improved, but whether the improvement would continue would depend on the direction of the poverty program. He stated if funds are cut or the program is curtailed, tensions will increase and gains made will be lost.

On December 20, 1966, source 5, a Negro closely associated with the Negro community in the Los Angeles area, advised he did not believe there had been any real lessening of tensions in the Watts area and stated another riot could develop if circumstances similar to those in August, 1965, arose. He stated the only way to improve the racial situation was for Negroes to help themselves.

On January 3, 1967, source 1 advised the racial situation in the Los Angeles area was relatively calm and there had been no recent incidents of a racial nature which might give way to violence. Source stated, however, that a routine arrest or street fight could trigger violence at almost any time.

Pacoima - Shadow Hills area

Shadow Hills is a part of the City of Los Angeles on the edge of Sunland, California, which is also part of the City of Los Angeles. The area is northwest of downtown Los Angeles and immediately east of Pacoima, California.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 3, 1967, II-1, was an article reporting increasing racial tension in the Shadow

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
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Hills area. The Los Angeles City Board of Education ruled in 1964 that Shadow Hills children should attend Maclay Junior High School in Pacoima instead of overcrowded Mt. Gleason Junior High School in Sunland. In July, 1965, the School Board made such attendance mandatory. Maclay school has a student body which is one-third "Anglo," one-third Mexican-American and one-third Negro. Many people in the area insist the problem involves racial prejudice, and neighbors, churches and youth groups have been "splintered" by bitterness of the problem. Those opposing the transfer of children to Maclay Junior High claim the School Board is engaged in "forced integration."

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
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IV. IDENTITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS
INVOLVED IN LOCAL RACIAL SITUATION

The following organizations referred to under Section II above have been involved in the racial situation in the Los Angeles area:

The ACLU, through four Police Malpractice Complaint Centers.

The Urban League continues to find jobs for workers in the poverty areas of Los Angeles.

The OIC continues to train workers in the poverty areas of Los Angeles.

The WLCAC still administers the CCC, helping youth in the Watts area of Los Angeles.

The Community Skill Center is teaching job skills to persons in the poverty areas of Los Angeles.

Under Section VII below, the Westminster Neighborhood Association, Incorporated, (WNAI), continues to be involved in the Watts area of Los Angeles.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

V. IDENTITIES OF LEADERS AND
INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED

Ted Watkins is chairman of the WLCAC, which continues to administer the CCC in the Watts area of Los Angeles.

Under Section VI below, Archie W. Hardwick, Executive Director of the WNAI, writes a regular column in the "Los Angeles Sentinel" newspaper.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 22, 1966, Page B-9, was an article reporting that the trial of John Wesley Harris, Jr., had been set for March 6, 1967, in the Superior Court of Los Angeles. Harris faces a possible prison term of one to 14 years if convicted of criminal syndicalism for distributing inflammatory leaflets during a period of racial tension in Los Angeles in March, 1966.

John Wesley Harris, Jr.

On July 27, 1966, source 6 advised that as of July, 1966, John Wesley Harris, Jr., was a member of the Los Angeles Club, PLP.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE.
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
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VI. EXISTENCE OF CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION
BETWEEN MINORITY LEADERS AND LOCAL
OFFICIALS

No change.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

VII. OBJECTIVES SOUGHT BY MINORITY COMMUNITY
AND POSSIBLE POINTS OF CONTENTION

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 29, 1966, Page 6A, was a column written by Archie W. Hardwick, Executive Director of the WNAI. Hardwick referred to the two-day seminar at the USC on December 15 and 16, 1966, discussing the McCone report on the Watts riot. He stated it was time to stop the various "studies" and start implementing the proposals and conclusions of these studies. He stated the result of all the studies was a "great big, fat, round ZERO." He reported that only after eight weeks of study had the McCone "committee" invited 20 agency leaders involved in such problems to the proceedings, as "an after thought." He stated the "committee" had already reached its own preconceived conclusions and disregarded the proposals of those really qualified to understand the problems.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

VIII. REACTION OF LEADERS AND MEMBERS
OF THE COMMUNITY TO MINORITY DEMANDS

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 22, 1966, Page A3, was an article reporting that Mayor Yorty, in a speech in New York City to an audience of police officers had stated Los Angeles would not have a police review board as long as he was mayor. He stated political officials "must back their police chiefs and police force." The article also reported Yorty had called on Governor Ronald Reagan to create a department of Urban Affairs to work with cities on problems which are of concern to the state.

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished to Region II, 115th Military Intelligence Unit, United States Army, Pasadena; to Office of Special Investigations, Norton Air Force Base, San Bernardino; to Naval Investigative Service, Los Angeles; the United States Attorney, Los Angeles, and the United States Secret Service, Los Angeles, for the information and completion of their files.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RA
Legat, Tokyo

12/28/66

Director, FBI (100-106670)

1 - Mr. Wells

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

When Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan inspected your office recently, he met and talked with United States Ambassador to Japan, U. Alexis Johnson. It was quite apparent that Ambassador Johnson was unaware of the communist influence being exerted on Martin Luther King, Jr., and his group, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The Legal Attache, Tokyo, is, therefore, authorized to deliver in person to Ambassador Johnson the enclosed document entitled, "Communism and the Negro Movement - A Current Analysis." Upon delivery, the classification of this document should be pointed out to the Ambassador and a request made that he handle it accordingly.

Enclosure

C.I.R.M.

① - 100-442529

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (route through for review)

DMW:scr
(6)

NOTE: Sullivan to DeLoach memorandum dated 12/19/66 received authority from the Director to disseminate this document to Ambassador Johnson.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-19-81 BY SP-9 JLN/MLK
6026

100-442529-

NOT RECORDED
128 JAN 2 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN

DIRECTOR, FBI

12/21/66

SAC, WFO (100-60330) (P)

BLACKMAN'S VOLUNTEER ARMY
OF LITERATION
IS - MISCELLANEOUS
(OO:WFO)

b3
b7E

In Bureau approval dated 12/6/66, to interview ALBERT ROY OGDONIE. This was in relation to two sales representatives of the Texas Corporation, Washington, D. C., advising that Colonel RACER, who is also known as ALBERT ROY OGDONIE, recently told them that the Communist Party had offered him \$10,000 in cash if he would turn toward CP activities in organizing his organization. RACER told the sales representatives that he refused this offer. They said RACER indicated this offer took place in Los Angeles, California, where RACER (OGDONIE) operated a wig shop, possibly in 1933 - 1934.

ALBERT ROY OGDONIE was interviewed on 12/20/66, by SAs PAUL E. BERNICOT and C. EDWIN CLACK at the Blackman's Development Center, 910 Kennedy Street, N.W.; this is the headquarters of the captioned organization. OGDONIE advised at this time that he now calls himself Colonel RACER JERRY-ALLEN, although he has not had his name changed legally. He described the organization as being a combination of a "Back to Africa" movement and a separation of the races as advocated by the Nation of Islam, especially MALCOLM X. He would have American Negroes return to Africa to establish their own nations, completely void of any white people. OGDONIE stated he wanted to get his people away from racial violence and especially from the International Socialist Communist Movement, which movement he said was the greatest menace to the United States. He could not offer any specifics

3

Bureau

(1 - 100-60330) (CINN)

3

Los Angeles (RM)

(1 - 100-60330) (CINN)

(1 - 100-)

(ALBERT ROY OGDONIE)

1

New York (RM)

(100-105735) (CINN)

2

WFO

(1 - 100-60159) (ALBERT OGDONIE)

DEC 21 1966
FBI

1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN

NOT RECORDED
180 DEC 21 1966

WFO 100-46550

about this movement, however, and said he knew about it through experience and observation.

OSBORNE advised that he was in Los Angeles, California, from 1933 to January, 1935, when he returned to Washington, D. C. While in Los Angeles, he was Chairman of the Self-Determination Committee. It came to his attention that perhaps this committee had been infiltrated by the CP and he was determined to find out about this. OSBORNE said that in either late 1934 or early 1935, he went to the Progressive Book Store on 5th Avenue, Los Angeles, and left a message there that he wanted to see a representative of the CP.

OSBORNE was contacted very soon after that by a man named DUMAS and arrangements were made that they would hold a clandestine meeting at 11 p.m. at Eastern and Adams Boulevard. The two men then proceeded to 1310 Crenshaw Boulevard where OSBORNE operated a wig shop. DUMAS identified himself as holding some official position with the CP in Los Angeles. Upon inquiry, OSBORNE stated that the Self-Determination Committee had not been infiltrated by the CP.

The conversation of the two men then changed to a discussion concerning freedom of the Negro. OSBORNE told DUMAS about his plans for the organizing of Negroes to return to Africa and be free of any white rule. At this point, DUMAS indicated that he might possibly give OSBORNE "some financial support," but only under the conditions that OSBORNE limit his organization to within the continental limits of the United States. OSBORNE stated that he refused to do this, and since there could be no agreement on this point, the meeting was terminated. OSBORNE advised that this was his one and only contact with DUMAS or any other CP official in this matter. He described DUMAS as follows:

Age:
Race:
Complexion:

About 50 - 55
White
Ruddy

WFO 100-45550

Hair:	Dark brown, thinning
Eyes:	Medium
Build:	Slender
Characteristics:	Two glasses

OSWALD said that SCOTT did not offer him any specified amount of money, and only indicated that financial support might be available if he changed his plans.

[redacted] on 4/2/53 identified
[redacted] SCOTT as Executive Secretary
of the Southern California CP
District.

b7D

During the course of the interview on 12/23/53, OSWALD was a very glib and voluble talker, and gave the impression of being a con man. Although he did not finish high school, OSWALD apparently had read quite a bit and spoke with apparent authority on a number of subjects. He gave the impression of being somewhat unstable and inclined to exaggerate; other sources contacted gained this same impression.

OSWALD worked from 9/23/54 to 3/25/55 for [redacted] in [redacted] at Washington, D. C., and [redacted] to 11 years in 1957 for [redacted] (unstable check) at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He was also committed for mental observation at Washington, D. C., from 1/27/53 - 2/11/53.

In view of the unfavorable impression gained during the course of the interview with OSWALD, additional contacts with him at this time are not contemplated.

FBI

Date: December 14, 1966

Trans at the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (100-12464)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ORGANIZATION
IS - C

Re Bureau letter to New York dated 8/17/66, regarding
Forthcoming Communist Party (CP) National Committee Meetings;
and Baltimore airtel to Bureau dated 12/10/66.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are nine copies of
a letterhead memorandum entitled, "CP, USA, National Committee
Meetings, Hotel Wellington, New York, New York, 12/3-7/66.
CP National Negro Commission Meeting, Hotel Wellington, New
York, New York, 12/8/66."

Two copies of this letterhead memorandum are being
forwarded to the New York Office with this airtel. Two copies
of this letterhead memorandum are being retained by Baltimore.

The source used in this letterhead memorandum is

b7D

ENCLOSURE

1 CC + ENCL. 904 94

3 - Bureau (100-442529) (CIRM) (Enc. 9) (REGISTERED MAIL)

4 - New York (100-80541) (Enc. 2) (REGISTERED MAIL) 100-442529

2 - Baltimore

RCN:bjs

(9)

NOT RECORDED

150 DEC 27 1966

9-ENCLOSURE

AGENCY RAO-15067-D State
DATE FORW. 12/13/66
BY [signature]

DEC 16 1966

Approved: [signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

Per _____

BA 100-12464

The letterhead is being shown as emanated from Washington, D.C., in order to protect the identity of the informant.

The letterhead memorandum is being classified "~~confidential~~" because the source furnishing the information is a continuing source of great value and disclosure of the information might damage the source.

In view of the great number of persons involved and the number of Bureau Offices concerned and in order to avoid duplication of information, the Bureau and New York are the only offices being furnished copies of this letterhead memorandum. Informant reports regarding the National Committee Meetings are being sent separately to all offices concerned.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~b6
b7c

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C.

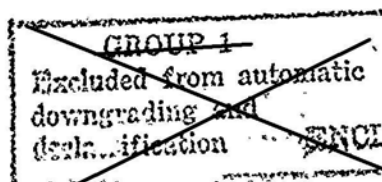
December 13, 1966

Re: Communist Party, USA, National Committee Meetings, Hotel Wellington, New York, New York, December 3-7, 1966. Communist Party Negro Commission Meeting, Hotel Wellington, New York, New York, December 8, 1966

A confidential source furnished the following information December 9 - 12, 1966, concerning Communist Party (CP) National Committee Hearings held at the Hotel Wellington, 55th Street and 7th Avenue, New York, New York, December 3 - 7, 1966. The source also furnished information concerning a CP National Negro Commission Meeting held December 8, 1966 at the same location.

On December 3, 1966, at the outset of the CP National Committee Meetings, Herbert Aptheker, Theoretician for the Party, announced that his daughter, Bettina was returning to Berkeley, California because of the student unrest on the campus. Herbert Aptheker stated that both students and faculty in large numbers were expressing their opposition to the war in Vietnam. Aptheker requested those present to send funds to help the students who were opposed to the Vietnam War. Aptheker then indicated that approximately 80% of the students at the University of California stayed away from the classes the previous day and a number of departments of the school were closed. Aptheker advised that some 400 faculty members were in full support of a student strike. Aptheker stated that the students were aroused because military recruiting stands had been set up on the campus.

The first session of the National Committee Meetings was begun at about 9:30 a.m., on December 3, 1966. Elsie Dickerson, CP National Committee member, acted as Chairman. Some 60 to 70 persons were in attendance during the course of the day.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ENCLOSURE

100-442529-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Communist Party, USA

The principal speaker for the day was Gus Hall, CP General Secretary, who talked at length about the November, 1966 elections in the United States. In substance, he urged CP members everywhere to oppose the ultra-right groups and to exert every effort to end the war in Vietnam. Hall said that the desire for peace in Vietnam was the strongest factor in the November, 1966 elections. He stated that efforts should be begun immediately towards influencing the 1968 elections. He suggested that independent political activity and work through established political parties should be gotten underway at once. Hall said that in the recent elections in most cases the voters were given little choice in the selection of candidates, but that they took every opportunity to express dissatisfaction with the war-like Johnson administration.

Hall told those present that the Vietnam War was causing inflation, high cost of living and cutbacks in the welfare program at home. He said that the war was isolating the United States from not only Socialists, but Capitalist countries.

Hall said that the Vietnam War was harmful because it served as a cover for the ultra-right groups in the country. He urged the need of independent political action everywhere possible to attack the ultra-right groups and assist in the break-up of the two major political parties. He then added that he was not advocating the formation of a new party at the present time since it was still too early for such a step. He then added that this should not stop them from thinking about an independent candidate for President in 1968.

Hall said that one of the valuable signs in the recent elections was the election to office of over 100 Negroes throughout the country. He urged those present to continue this growing force of Negro office holders.

He told the group that the fight for Civil Rights should be assisted by the labor and peace forces and felt that progress was being made in that direction.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Communist Party, USA

He stated that the fight against the draft should be pressed not by the youth alone, but by the entire community since it was part of the fight against the Vietnam War.

During the morning of December 4, 1966, no National Committee Meeting was held. Instead, National Committee members and Party sympathizers went to the Kensico Cemetery, White Plains, New York, to unveil a headstone for Benjamin Davis, deceased CP National Leader. About 100 persons gathered at the Unity Funeral Home, 126th Street and 8th Avenue, New York, New York, at about 10:00 a.m. Two buses took the group to the cemetery.

At about 11:30 a.m., the ceremony got underway with CP National Leaders Arnold Johnson, Tom Dennis and William Patterson, acting as a guard of honor. A number of addresses were made at the grave side. CP National Leaders Gil Green and Henry Winston were among the speakers.

During the afternoon of December 4, 1966, the CP National Committee Meetings were resumed.

The only activity was discussion on Gus Hall's report of the previous day. This afternoon session had as its Chairman John Stanford, CP National Committee Member from Texas.

On December 5, 1966, the National Committee Meetings were resumed. Some 50-55 persons were in attendance. The meeting was chaired by a Ralph (Last Name Unknown) from Oregon. Carl Winter, Editor of "The Worker" made a report on the condition of the newspaper.

"The Worker" is an East Coast
Communist Newspaper.

Winter stated that during September, 1966, "The Worker" building had been damaged by a bomb. Winter stated that a \$100,000 campaign fund was being undertaken which was to last through June, 1967. The purpose of the fund was to restore

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Communist Party, USA

the building. Winter also stated that in connection with the fund campaign, there was to be a drive for 2,000 new subscriptions to "The Worker."

Winter then went into a long talk on the history of the newspaper, emphasizing that it was the only publication in the United States which gave the truth to the American people as to the growing power of Socialism.

On December 6, 1966, the National Committee Meeting was chaired by a white male from Chicago, who operated the CP Bookshop in that city. The principal speaker was Henry Winston, National Chairman of the CP, USA. His topic was the Negro struggle in the United States. He outlined the Civil Rights Movement. He pointed out that "black power" arose naturally out of the Civil Rights movement and was part of the struggle. He stressed that the CP, USA, must support the struggle of the Negro everywhere or the party could not endorse such aspects of the struggle as "black power" since it was divisive in nature. Winston stated that although the past year had shown a great gain in the number of elected offices held by Negro American, the Negroes in the United States had a long way to go before they could hold an important amount of political power.

Winston stated that the CP, USA, had to help the American Negro organize, vote and use all the political avenues to establish themselves in power. He emphasized that the period from the 1950's through the mid 1960's was the time for protest and demonstration and that in the future the Negro people in the United States had to begin to exercise political effectiveness.

Winston said further that the Negro people, although still clinging to the Democratic Party, were

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Communist Party, USA

beginning to look for new forms of independence. He predicted that this would increase as the cost of the Vietnam War began to cut into living standards and hurting the Negro American who received the lowest pay.

On December 7, 1966, the National Committee Meetings were resumed. Helen Winter, CP National Committee member, acted as Chairman. A spokesman for youth stated that the Youth Commission had met and was fully opposed to the war in Vietnam and the draft. He urged mobilization of students on college campuses so that they could voice their opposition to the war.

The youth spokesman pointed out that the youth in America were facing a number of problems that were growing in strength and complexity. He pointed out that there was an ever increasing draft; that funds for education were being cut while tuition costs were rising. He said that the war in Vietnam was causing inflation and that less students were being deferred. He also mentioned that non-students were also affected by the war, especially the Negroes.

He emphasized the need for increased political action on campus through the United States and urged a student strike on behalf of the peace movement.

Also on December 7, 1966, Gus Hall, CP General Secretary, told the group about his recent world-wide trip through Socialist and non-Socialist countries.

He described his enthusiastic reception in the USSR and his meeting with the Central Committee of that country.

He said that Khrushchev had been removed from office because he had no long-range perspective.

Hall stated that the United States had gotten into the Vietnam War through a miscalculation which is leading to its isolation from the rest of the world. Hall said that the United States was entering into a period of inflation because of the war and that the American people would soon be hit with shortages and high taxation.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Communist Party, USA

Hall stated that in visiting in Socialist countries it was obvious to him that Socialism had overcome the handicap of industrial backwardness that it had inherited from past societies. Hall said that in the future, Socialism would be able to compete with Capitalism from a broad, modern, industrial base. Hall said that in the world of Communism, Red China stood alone. He said that errors had been made in the past because of a lack of an industrial base and that at the present time the activities of the Red Guards were preventing the working class elements from producing a true Communist society.

After his talk, Gus Hall stated that the CP National Board had met on the evening of December 5, 1966 and had proposed a new National Board. Hall then said that he was going to furnish the list of names, but before he gave the list he wanted visitors who were not members of the National Committee to leave the hall. About two or three persons then left.

Gus Hall then stated that the persons who were selected either had personal contact with or were in the trade union movement. He then furnished the following list of names:

Claude Lightfoot
William Patterson
James Jackson
Jack Kling
Gus Hall
Henry Winston
Irving Potash
Jim West
Gil Green
Dorothy Healey
Arnold Johnson
Mickey Lima
Hyman Lumer
George Meyers
Danny Rubin
Carl Winter
Ralph (Last Name Unknown) from Oregon
Helen Winter
Betty Gannett

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Communist Party, USA

Elsie Dickerson
Mike Stein
Edward Teixera
Tom Dennis
Roscoe Proctor
Jim Tormey
Mike Zagarell

Hall then told the group that the National Committee consisted of 82 persons.

The source said that he was able to identify the following individuals as members of the National Committee:

Dorothy Healey
Jim West
Arnold Johnson
Claude Lightfoot
Gus Hall
James Jackson
Phil Bart
William Weinstone
Herbert Aptheker
Hyman Lumer
Joe North
Carl Winter
Helen Winter
Al Richmond
George Meyers
Jacob Green
Ben Dobbs
Irving Potash
Sam Kushner
Mickey Lima
Clara Colon
Betty Gannett
James Allen

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Communist Party, USA

Burt Nelson
Anton Krchmarek
Erik Bert
Danny Rubin
Mildred Mc Adorey
James Tormey
Pat Toohey
Tom Dennis
William Patterson
Henry Winston
Si Gerson
Charlene Alexander
George Morris
Roscoe Proctor
Mrs. Roscoe Proctor
Elsie Dickerson
Mike Stein
Gil Green
Jack Kling
Betty Smith
Bill Taylor
Bettina Aptheker
Joseph Brandt
Mike Davidow
Alexander Trachtenberg
Edward Teixera
John Stanford
Sidney Taylor
Jarvis Tyner
Alva Buxenbaum
Rasheed Storey
Tim Wheeler
Herbert L. Wright
Mike Zagarell
Jose Ristorucci
Burt Nelson
Paul Novick

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Communist Party. USA

The following unknown individuals were also considered by the source to be members of the National Committee:

Race: White
Sex: Female
Age: 23 - 24 Years
Height: 5' 6"
Build: Heavy
Hair: Black

This individual was the wife or girl friend of

[REDACTED]

Race: White
Sex: Male
Age: 25 Years
Build: Slender
Weight: 125 Pounds
Hair: Black
Characteristics: Wearing black rimmed glasses

Race: White
Sex: Male
Age: 25 - 27 Years
Height: 5' 7"
Weight: 135 - 140 Pounds
Build: Slender
Hair: Black

b6
b7C

Race: White
Sex: Male
Nationality: Mexican - American
Age: 30 Years
Height: 5' 5"
Build: Stocky

An associate of [REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Communist Party, USA

Race: White
Sex: Female
Nationality: Mexican - American from Colorado
Age: Early 30's
Height: 5' 5"
Weight: 130 Pounds

Race: White
Sex: Female from mid-west United States
Age: Early 40's
Height: 5' 5"
Build: Medium
Hair: Brown, graying
Characteristics: Wears glasses

Race: White
Sex: Male from Washington State
Age: Early 50's
Height: 5' 7"
Weight: 140 Pounds
Hair: Bald
Characteristics: Wears glasses

Name: Jose Last Name Unknown
Race: White
Sex: Male from Puerto Rico
Age: 25 Years
Height: 5' 5"
Hair: Black

On December 8, 1966, a CP National Negro Commission meeting was held at the Wellington Hotel from 10:15 a.m., to about 2:00 p.m. The following were in attendance:

Claude Lightfoot.
William Patterson
Roscoe Proctor
Debbie Amis
Carl Nelson
Clara Colon

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Communist Party, USA

James Jackson
Jacob Green
Ishmael Florey
Bill Taylor
Bill Crawford
Ted Bassett
Jack Kling
Pat Toohey
Al Simon
Rasheed Storey
Phil Bart
Herbert L. Wright

Roscoe Proctor acted as Chairman with Debbie Amis as the Secretary. After discussing the Civil Rights movement in all its aspects, they expressed agreement on the following courses of action:

1. Full support of A. Philip Randolph's Freedom Budget.
2. To fully examine the 1966 elections in order to determine the size of the negro vote.
3. Set up Negro Commissions in the Far West, Mid West, East, South and North, and to have Eastern and Western Regional Sections.
4. Elect 20 more Negro Congressmen in 1968 and push Negro representation in all jobs, organizations, trade unions and government.
5. Bring CP literature to Negro communities and organizations.
6. Try to bring more Negro women into the CP.
7. Hold National Negro Commission meetings in cities outside New York.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Communist Party, USA

8. Get Negro youth into the CP.
9. Fight white chauvinism both in and out of
the CP.

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI. It is the property of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C.
December 14, 1966

Title	Communist Party, USA, National Committee Meetings, Hotel Wellington, New York, New York, 12/3-7/66. Communist Party National Negro Commission Meeting, Hotel Wellington, New York, New York 12/8/66
Character	
Reference	IS - C

Letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

~~SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 12/12/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

Via _____
(Priority)

Classified by 3042 PWT/8
Declassify on: OADR
83-1719

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA

RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM - C

Bureau file 100-106670 CLASSIFIED AND
Atlanta file 100-5586 EXTENDED BY

CIRM

Bureau file 100-442529 DATE OF REVIEW FOR
Atlanta file 100-6670 DECLASSIFICATION

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED BY
DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: 3-14-90

CN80, 513 Appeal 82-660 (Hokro)
11-21-91 12-11-91 CN7063
9803 RDD/DMS/ILW CN7063
83-1719 7-10-92 6076

REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION

12-12-86

1-1981

Re Atlanta airtel and LHM dated 11/28/66, captioned
"MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SM - C."

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and 8
copies and for New York 3 copies of LHM.

Source referred to in enclosed LHM is [redacted]

[NY 694-S*] Source utilized to characterize LEVISON is
(U)

b3
b7D
b7E

In connection with [redacted]

source said he felt [redacted]

- 4 - Bureau (3) - 100-106670 (Enc. 9) (RM)
(1 - 100-442529)
- 3 - New York (Enc. 3) (RM)
(1 - 100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON)
- 3 - Atlanta (1 - 100-5586)
(1 - 100-6670)

CARBON COPY

62 DEC 27 1966

CARBON COPY

100-443529
NOT RECORDED
100 DEC 21 1966

ENCLOSURE

Approved: [signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

~~SECRET~~

M

Per

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-106670-2801

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

AT 100-5586
AT 100-6670

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NO ACTION SHOULD BE PREDICATED UPON INFORMATION
FURNISHED BY [] WHICH MIGHT COMPROMISE HIS SECURITY.
INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [] MUST BE CLASSIFIED
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~. THE FOREGOING RESTRICTION AND CLASSIFICATION
ARE JUSTIFIED BECAUSE THIS SOURCE []
[]

b7D

The enclosed LHM has been classified ~~SECRET~~
because it contains information furnished by [NY 694-S*] (S) (U)
It is felt this classification is necessary in order not
to jeopardize the valuable position of the informant in
furnishing information of this nature. u &

- 2 -

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
December 12, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~SECRET~~

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On December 8, 1966, a confidential source advised

b7D

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~1-9-89~~
Classified by ~~3042 PWT/SK~~
Declassify on: ~~OADR~~
~~82-011 Arrow/King/Davis~~
~~83-1719~~

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED BY
DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: ~~3-14-90~~ ~~6972 EEP/SK~~

~~CN80,513~~ ~~Appx 82-0611 (4/20/90)~~
~~11-2-91~~ ~~5-12-11-91~~ ~~9803~~ ~~1003~~ ~~1010/ole~~

~~SECRET~~
~~GROUP 1~~

~~Excluded from Automatic~~
~~Downgrading and Declassification~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

~~1-19-81~~
~~CLASSIFIED AND CONTAINED~~
~~EXTENDED BY: [REDACTED]~~
~~REASON FOR EXTENSION:~~
~~FCIM 11-2.4.2~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW FOR~~
~~DECLASSIFICATION~~

~~12-12-86~~ ~~100-442529~~
~~6076~~
ENCLOSURE



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
December 12, 1966

~~SECRET~~

FD 323

Title MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

Character SECURITY MATTER - C
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Letterhead Memorandum, dated
and captioned as above, at
Atlanta, Georgia.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

F B I

Date: 12/1/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO

SUBJECT: DEMONSTRATIONS, CHICAGO
FREEDOM MOVEMENT (CFM) -
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC)
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
RM (157-1261)

EDWARD CLIFFORD HOLMGREN, aka
Edward Lee Holmgren
SM - C [REDACTED]

Agency G-2, ONI, OSI, CRD, CA, IS

Date Forw. DEC 6 1966

How Forw. R/S

By ABK/BGR none destroyed

1- RACIAL UNIT

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Enclosed for the Bureau are twelve copies of a LHM dated and captioned as above. An extra copy has been designated to the Bureau for their CIRM file.

One copy of the enclosed LHM is being furnished to the United States Attorney's Office, United States Secret Service, both Chicago, Illinois, and Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.

For the information of the Bureau, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] confidentially advised on 11/30/66, the following information:

- ENCLOSURE
- ④ - Bureau (Enc. 12) (RM) (CIRM)
 - 1 - 100-442529 (CIRM)
 - 2 - Baltimore (100-22942) (Enc. 2)
 - 4 - Chicago
 - 1 - 157-1261

15 DEC 2 1966

FHA/cah
(10)

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent: _____ M Per: _____

ORIGINAL FILED IN

On 8/17/66, a summit meeting was held in Chicago regarding the current racial situation. As a result of this meeting, a number of agreements were formulated and currently these agreements are to be implemented through a new organization known as the Metropolitan Chicago Leadership Council (MCLC). This organization will concern itself with the racial situation not only in Chicago but in the suburban communities surrounding the city. The MCLC has the strong support of Mayor RICHARD J. DALEY and BENJAMIN HEINEMAN, Chicago-Northwest Railroad Company. The chairman of this organization is JOSEPH COOK, President of Illinois Bell Telephone Company.

During recent weeks, forty individuals have been interviewed for the position of executive director of the MCLC. Of this number EDWARD LEE HOLMGREN was chosen to fill this position. [redacted] stated that HOLMGREN currently serves as executive director of Baltimore Neighborhood, Incorporated. He is married to MARTHA BLANKENSHIP HOLMGREN.. (It is noted that report of SA ROBER A. VILLEMURE dated 4/4/63 at Chicago captioned EDWARD CLIFFORD HOLMGREN, aka, states that HOLMGREN was divorced in Chicago, 6/6/58 from MARTHA BLANKENSHIP HOLMGREN.. This report also indicates that a marriage license was issued to EDWARD LEE HOLMGREN and MARY TEMPLE HOLMGREN, 6/19/58, and they were married 6/21/58, Evanston, Illinois.)

According to [redacted], HOLMGREN was an active member of the Hyde Park Communist Party (CP) in 1946 and was a member of the American Youth for Democracy at the University of Chicago in 1946 and 1947. He was a contributor with his wife to the Clinton Jencks Defense Committee in 1954. In 1942 he reportedly belonged to a Marxist CP Club with a residence address of 10 East Cedar Street, Chicago. He allegedly made a report in 1947 to MOLLIE WEST of the CP of Illinois regarding housing matters in Chicago. In 1960, he was affiliated in some capacity with the Chicago Urban League.

[redacted] advised that JOSEPH COOK and PAUL M. LUND, Senior Commercial Manager, Illinois Bell Telephone Company, are both generally aware of the above information.

CG 157-1261

The first confidential source in the LHM is Anonymous. The second confidential source is the Security Unit, Chicago Police Department. The third confidential source is [REDACTED]

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LEADS

BALTIMORE

AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND. Inasmuch as HOLMGREN is moving to Chicago, Baltimore is requested to furnish all current information in their files concerning HOLMGREN to the Chicago Division. Baltimore should especially furnish Chicago any information in their files regarding HOLMGREN's present wife.

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will follow this situation closely and keep the Bureau advised of all pertinent information.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Chicago, Illinois
December 1, 1966

DEMONSTRATIONS, CHICAGO FREEDOM
MOVEMENT (CFM) - SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
(SCLC), CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
RACIAL MATTERS

EDWARD CLIFFORD HOLMGREN
ALSO KNOWN AS, EDWARD LEE HOLMGREN
SECURITY MATTER - C

An article appeared in the November 30, 1966, issue of the "Chicago Sun-Times", a Chicago daily newspaper which contained the following information:

A former Chicago housing specialist was named executive director Tuesday of the council set up to enforce this summer's open housing agreement in Chicago, Illinois. He is Edward L. Holmgren, a native Chicagoan and now executive director of the Baltimore Neighborhoods, Incorporated, a private non-profit agency specializing in stabilizing racially mixed neighborhoods.

Holmgren attended the University of Illinois and the University of Chicago where he majored in political science. From 1949 until 1959 Holmgren was in charge of tenant selection for the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA). After leaving the CHA Holmgren worked for some three years as a housing specialist for the Chicago Urban League.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-442529-
ENCLOSURE

RE: DEMONSTRATION, CHICAGO FREEDOM MOVEMENT
(CFM) - SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE (SCLC), CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

EDWARD CLIFFORD HOLMGEREN
ALSO KNOWN AS, EDWARD LEE HOLMGEREN

This article continued stating that Albert A. Raby, Convener of the Co-ordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCO) hailed Holmgren's appointment. The article pointed out that Raby and Doctor Martin Luther King, Jr. were co-chairmen of the Chicago Freedom Movement (CFM) and they led the summer open housing marches which led to the agreement in Chicago on August 27, 1966, regarding open housing.

An article appearing in the November 30, 1966, issue of another Chicago daily newspaper, "The Chicago Daily News", stated that Holmgren would be chairman of the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Chicago Open Housing Communities which is a group formed following the August 26, 1966, agreement on open housing in Chicago, Illinois. This group is also known as the Metropolitan Chicago Leadership Council for Open Housing.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on April 26, 1946, that Edward Lee Holmgren, 1541 East 61st Street, Chicago, Illinois, a student, had applied for membership in the Communist Party, USA, in 1946.

A second confidential source, an agency which collects intelligence-type information in the Chicago area, advised on May 9, 1955, that Edward Lee Holmgren was a member of the Hyde Park Club of the Communist Party in 1946 and was active in attending meetings.

A third confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Edward Holmgren was a member of the Nate Schilling Communist Party Club in 1946 and 1947.

A copy of this communication is being furnished to the United States Attorney's Office, and United States Secret Service, both Chicago, Illinois, and Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.

12/10/66

PLAINTEXT

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (100-12464)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ORGANIZATION
IS - C

Re Bureau letter to New York, dated 8/17/66, re
forthcoming CP National Committee meetings.

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[redacted] attended CP National Committee meetings,
New York, New York, from 12/3 - 7/66, and attended a CP
National Negro Commission meeting, New York, New York, on
12/8/66. Upon his return to Baltimore, [redacted] was
interviewed concerning the above meetings. These interviews
which took place on 12/9/66, and 12/10/66, were limited
because [redacted]

[redacted] A summarization of information obtained
from informant is being set out in airtel form for the
benefit of the Bureau and New York. A detailed letterhead
memorandum will be prepared immediately following interviews
with informant, 12/11/66, and 12/12/66.

The CP National Committee meetings took place
12/3 - 7/66, at the Wellington Hotel, 55th Street and 7th
Avenue, New York, New York. The meetings ran from about
9:30 A.M., to 5:30 P.M., each day, except Sunday, 12/4/66,
when there was no morning session.

4-Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
(1-100-442529 CIRM)
2-New York (100-80541) (REGISTERED MAIL)
2-Baltimore
[redacted]

RCN:med
(8)

100-442529-
NOT RECORDED
202 DEC 13 1966

70 DEC 27 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3-69-11075

On 12/3/66, at the outset of the meetings, HERBERT APTHEKER, Theoretician for the CP, USA, announced that his daughter, BETTINA, was returning to Berkeley, California, because of student unrest on the campus where both students and faculty in large numbers were stating their opposition to the war in Vietnam. APTHEKER requested those present to send funds to help the students in opposition to the war.

During the 12/3/66, session, which was chaired by ELSIE DICKERSON, GUS HALL, CP General Secretary, talked on the November, 1966, elections in the United States. In substance, he urged CP members everywhere to oppose the ultra-right and exert every effort to end the war in Vietnam. Discussion on this topic lasted the rest of the day and continued through the 12/4/66, session, which was chaired by JOHN STANFORD of Texas.

On 12/5/66, the meeting was chaired by a RALPH (INU) from Oregon. CARL WINTER made a report on The Worker. He said \$100,000.00 was needed to rebuild the plant which had been damaged by a bomb in September, 1966. A fund raising campaign which was to last through June, 1967, was to be undertaken to raise the \$100,000.00. WINTER requested \$2,000.00 new subscriptions to The Worker.

On 12/6/66, the session was chaired by a white, male, from Chicago, who operated the CP book shop in that city. HENRY WINSTON, CP, USA, Chairman, talked about the Negro struggle. He described the Civil Rights movement. He pointed out that "black power" arose naturally out of the Civil Rights movement and was part of the struggle. He stressed that the CP must support the struggle of the Negro everywhere though the Party could not endorse such aspects of the struggle as "black power" since it was divisive in nature.

On 12/7/66, HELEN WINTER acted as Chairman. A spokesman for youth who is a member of the National Committee said that the Youth Commission had met and was fully opposed to the war in Vietnam and the draft. He urged mobilization of students on college campuses so that they could voice their opposition to the war. GUS HALL then talked about his recent world wide trip. He emphasized communist solidarity though pointing out

BA 100-12464

that the Red Chinese were not in full accord with the rest of the communist world and that a world conference was needed to settle the dispute.

GUS HALL then stated that the National Board had met on the evening of 12/5/66, and had proposed the following individuals for membership on the new National Board:

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
WILLIAM PATTERSON
JAMES JACKSON
JACK KLING
GUS HALL
HENRY WINSTON
IRVING POTASH
JIM WEST
GIL GREEN
DOROTHY HEALEY
ARNOLD JOHNSON
MICKEY LINA
HYMAN LUMER
GEORGE MEYERS
DANNY RUBIN
CARL WINTER
RALPH (LNU) from Oregon
HELEN WINTER
BETTY GANNETT
ELSIE DICKERSON
MIKE STEIN
EDWARD TEIXERA
TOM DENNIS
ROSCOE PROCTOR
JIM TORMEY
MIKE ZAGARELL

GUS HALL then said that the National Committee consisted of 82 members. [redacted] was able to identify the following as National Committee members:

b7D

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DOROTHY HEALEY
JIM WEST
ARNOLD JOHNSON
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
GUS HALL
JAMES JACKSON
PHIL BART
WILLIAM WEINSTONE
HERBERT APTHEKER
HYMAN LUTER
JOE NORTH
CARL WINTER
HELEN WINTER
AL RICHMOND
GEORGE MEYERS
JACOB GREEN
BEN DOBBS
IRVING POTASH
SAM KUSHNER
MICKEY LIMA
CLARA COLON
BETTY GANNETT
JAMES ALLEN
BURT NELSON
ANTON KRCHWAREK
ERIK BERT
DANNY RUBIN
MILDRED MC ADOREY
JAMES TORMEY
PAT TOOHEY
TOM DENNIS
WILLIAM PATTERSON
HENRY WINSTON
SI GERSON
CHARLENE ALEXANDER
GEORGE MORRIS
ROSCOE PROCTOR
Mrs. ROSCOE PROCTOR
ELSIE DICKERSON
MIKE STEIN
GIL GREEN
JACK KLING

BA 100-12464

BETTY SMITH
BILL TAYLOR
BETTINA APTHEKER
JOSEPH BRANDT
MIKE DAVIDOW
ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG
EDWARD TEIXERA
JOHN STANFORD
SIDNEY TAYLOR
JARVIS TYNER
ALVA BUXENBAUM
RASHEED STOREY
TIM WHEELER

On December 8, 1966, a CP National Negro Commission meeting was held at the Wellington Hotel from 10:15 A.M. to about 2:00 P.M. The following were in attendance:

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
WILLIAM PATTERSON
ROSCOE PROCTOR
DEBBIE AMIS
CARL (INU) from Northern California
CLARA COLON
JAMES JACKSON
JACOB GREEN
ISHMAEL FLOREY
BILL TAYLOR
BILL CRAWFORD
TED BASSETT
JACK KLING
PAT TOOHEY
AL SIMON
RASHEED STOREY
PHIL BART
UNSUB: white, male, from Chicago

ROSCOE PROCTOR acted as Chairman with DEBBIE AMIS as the Secretary. After discussing the Civil Rights movement in all its aspects, they expressed agreement on the following courses of action:

1. Full support of A. PHILIP RANDOLPH's Freedom Budget.
2. To fully examine the 1966 elections in order to determine the size of the Negro vote.
3. Set up Negro Commissions in the Far West, Mid West, East, South, and North, and to have Eastern and Western Regional Sections.
4. Elect 20 more Negro Congressmen in 1968 and push Negro representation in all jobs, organizations, trade unions, and government.
5. Bring CP literature to Negro communities and organizations.
6. Try to bring more Negro women into the CP.
7. Hold National Negro Commission meetings in cities outside New York.
8. Get Negro youth into the CP.
9. Fight white chauvinism both in and out of the CP.

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FBI

Date: 12/16/66

~~SECRET~~

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

~~CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (RAC)
DATE: 6-11-85 1678 REPIC
11-8-88 8803 RDD/DAD/DOW 85-719 CN 87,863
CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (RAC)
DATE: 6-11-85 1678 REPIC~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI 7-19-84
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA
RE: COMINFIL OF SCLC
IS - C
Bureau file 100-438794
Atlanta file 100-5718
CIRM
Bureau file 100-442529
Atlanta file 100-6670

~~CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY: S.R. J.R.M. 2
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION: 12-16-86
54 688
73 SIF
80 SIF~~

Re Atlanta airtel and LHM dated 9/30/66, captioned
"COMINFIL OF SCLC, IS - C."

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and 8
copies and for Chicago and New York 3 copies each of LHM.

Source referred to in enclosed LHM is [redacted] (u)

Source utilized to characterize LEVISON is [redacted] (u)
[NY 694-S*] (S) (U)

Re airtel and LHM refers to [redacted]

- ④ - Bureau (3 - 100-438794) (Enc. 9) (RM)
(1 - 100-442529)
3 - Chicago (Enc. 3) (RM)
3 - New York (Enc. 3) (RM)
(1 - 100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON)
4 - Atlanta (1 - 100-5718)
(1 - 100-6670) (u)

100-442529-
NOT RECORDED
183 DEC 22 1966

CARBON COPY.

AGS:cmp
(14)

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Approved: [signature]

Sent

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Per

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ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-438794-1704

AT 100-5718
AT 100-6670

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

In addition to the information set forth in the enclosed LHM, [redacted] furnished the following: *Xu*

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[redacted] *Xu*
[redacted]
NO ACTION SHOULD BE PREDICATED UPON INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [redacted] WHICH MIGHT COMPROMISE HIS SECURITY. INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [redacted] MUST BE CLASSIFIED ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~. THE FOREGOING RESTRICTION AND CLASSIFICATION ARE JUSTIFIED BECAUSE THIS SOURCE [redacted]
[redacted] *Xu*

The enclosed LHM has been classified ~~Secret~~ (S) (U) because it contains information furnished by (NY 694-S*) *Xu*
It is felt this classification is necessary in order not to jeopardize the valuable position of the informant in furnishing information of this nature.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
December 16, 1966

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~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (PRO)
DATE: 6-11-85 1678 RFP/K

11-21-91 & 12-17-91 CN 81,063
9803 RD01 dmglolw
83-1719

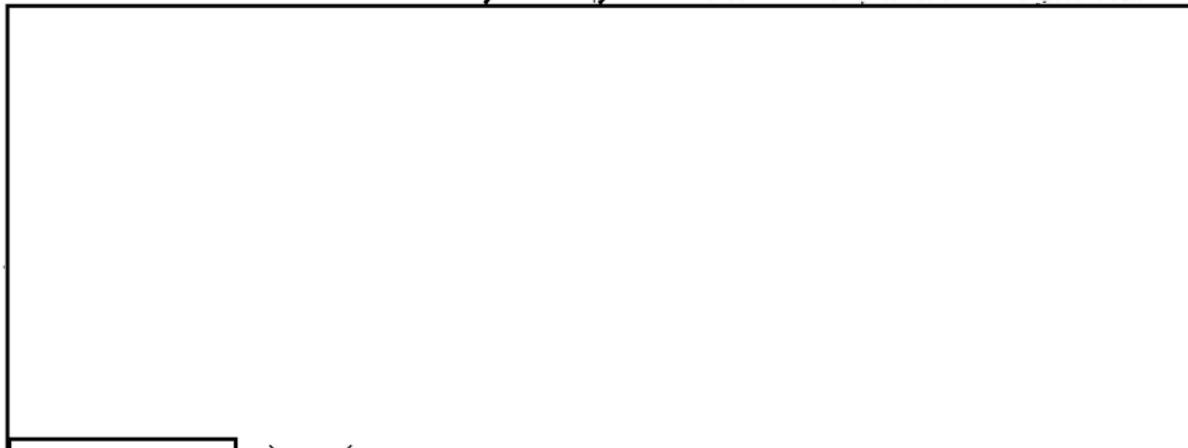
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

71042

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

7-19-84
Classified by 8972 FDS/CH
Declassify on: OADR
Garrow/schc/Levison
83-1719

On December 15, 1966, a confidential source advised



b7D

This document contains neither recommendations nor
conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is
loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be
distributed outside your agency.

~~CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED FOR
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION~~

~~SECRET
GROUP 1~~

~~Excluded from Automatic
Downgrading and Declassification~~

7-14-80
CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED BY SP4 JRM/K
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION 12-6-86

80517 98688
73518

ENCLOSURE



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
December 16, 1966

~~SECRET~~

FD 323

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Letterhead Memorandum, dated and captioned as above, at Atlanta, Georgia.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

2

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FBI

Date: 1/6/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext, or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6670)
RE: CIRM

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and 7
copies and for New York 3 copies of LHM.

Source referred to in enclosed LHM is [redacted]

Sources utilized to characterize WACHTEL are
NY 1190-S* and Anonymous source of WFO set out in report
of SA JOHN J. WALSH 7/19/50 at WFO re "NLG; IS-C."

Source advised [redacted] referred to in the
enclosed LHM was [redacted].

NO ACTION SHOULD BE PREDICATED UPON INFORMATION
FURNISHED BY [redacted] WHICH MIGHT COMPROMISE HIS SECURITY.
INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [redacted] MUST BE CLASSIFIED
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~. THE FOREGOING RESTRICTION AND CLASSIFICATION
ARE JUSTIFIED BECAUSE THIS SOURCE [redacted]

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
3 - New York (Enc. 3) (RM)
 (1 - 100-148289) (HARRY WACHTEL)
3 - Atlanta (1 - 100-6670)
 [redacted] (SCLC)
 (1 - 100-5718) (SCLC)

AGS:cmp

(9)

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, [redacted]
 ISD, CRD, RAO; [redacted]

DATE FORW: 1/10/67

HOW FORW: [redacted]

FILE: [redacted]

100 ATT 442529 924940

JAN 9 1967

Approved: [redacted]

53 JAN 12 1967
Special Agent in Charge

Sent [redacted]

M

Per [redacted]



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
January 6, 1967

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b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On December 29, 1966, a confidential source advised

b7D

This document contains neither recommendations
nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI
and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not
to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~GROUP 1~~
~~Excluded from Automatic~~
~~Downgrading and Declassification~~

100-442529-2058
ENCLOSURE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
January 6, 1967

FD 323

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Letterhead Memorandum, dated and captioned as above, at Atlanta, Georgia.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 1/6/67

~~SECRET~~

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA
RE: CIRM
Atlanta file 100-6670
Bureau file 100-442529

Classified by SP6 BJA/ude
Declassify on: DATE 8/26/84
Chg #80,513

MARCHES AND DEMONSTRATIONS
GRENADA, MISSISSIPPI
RM
Atlanta file 157-1964

1 copies made of enc. pp. 1, 2;
3-10-78 JTA/lh enc. pp. 1-3
u. #3 O'Dell
for review at FBIHQ by
HSCA re 1-26-78 request.
(See Bufile #62-117290)

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and 8
copies and for Jackson and New York 2 copies each of LHM.

Source referred to in enclosed LHM is [redacted]

Sources utilized to characterize WACHTEL are
NY 1190-S* and Anonymous Source of WFO set out in report
of SA JOHN J. WALSH, 7/19/50 at WFO re "NLG; IS-C."
Source utilized to characterize WILLIAMS is NY 4171-S*.
Sources utilized to characterize O'DELL are NY 694-S* and
NY 4171-S*.

Source advised [redacted]
[redacted] in the enclosed LHM were [redacted]

b3
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b7E

- 4 - Bureau (3) - 100-442529 (Enc. 9) (RM)
(1 - MARCHES AND DEMONSTRATIONS, GRENADA, MISS.)
2 - Jackson (Enc. 2) (RM)
New York (Enc. 2) (RM)
(1 - 100-148289) (HARRY WACHTEL)
6 - Atlanta (1 - 100-6670)
(1 - 157-1964)
(1 - 100-5718) (SCLC)
(1 - 100-5586) (M. L. KING, JR.)
(1 - 157-895) (HOSEA WILLIAMS)

REC-2

100-442529-2051

JAN 9 1967

AGS:emp
(14)

Approved: [signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

~~SECRET~~

Per

JAN 17 1967

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN 157-6-2

AT 100-6670
AT 157-1964

~~SECRET~~

NO ACTION SHOULD BE PREDICATED UPON INFORMATION
FURNISHED BY [] WHICH MIGHT COMPROMISE HIS SECURITY.
INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [] MUST BE CLASSIFIED
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~. THE FOREGOING RESTRICTION AND CLASSIFICATION
ARE JUSTIFIED BECAUSE THIS SOURCE []
[]

b7D

The enclosed LHM has been classified ~~Secret~~
because it contains information furnished by NY 694-S*.
It is felt this classification is necessary in order not
to jeopardize the valuable position of the informant in
furnishing information of this nature. (S) (U)

~~SECRET~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Atlanta, Georgia
January 6, 1967

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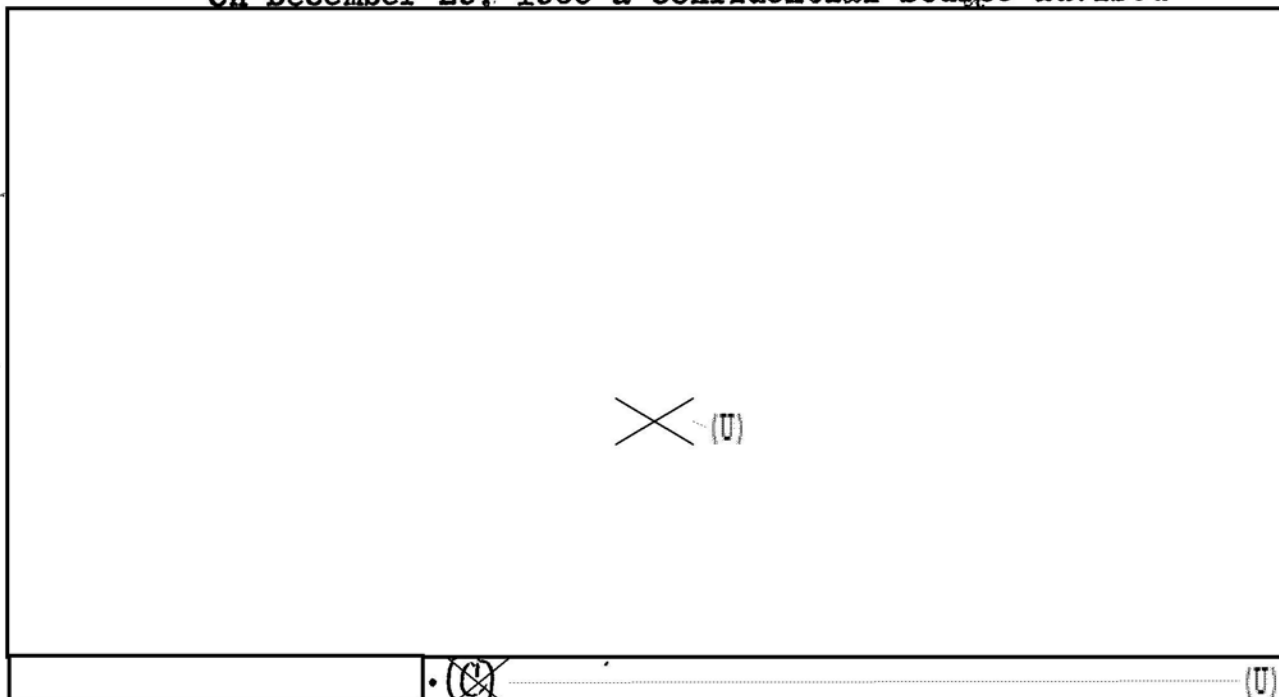
~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

MARCHES AND DEMONSTRATIONS
GRENADA, MISSISSIPPI
RACIAL MATTERS

b7D

On December 29, 1966 a confidential source advised



This document contains neither recommendations
nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI
and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to
be distributed outside your agency.

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.~~

~~SECRET
GROUP 1~~

~~Excluded from Automatic
Downgrading and Declassification~~

Classified by SP6 Bja/pmk
Declassify on: OADR 70/26/84
Cmp # 80,513

100-442529-2051
ENCLOSURE



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
January 6, 1967

FD 323

~~SECRET~~

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
	MARCHES AND DEMONSTRATIONS, GRENADA, MISSISSIPPI
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C RACIAL MATTERS
Reference	Letterhead Memorandum, dated and captioned as above, at Atlanta, Georgia.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 1/6/67

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by 6972 EEP/dms
9/26/80

Declassify on: OADR

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP8 BJS/PCE
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 11-6-87

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6670)

RE: CIRM

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRG)
DATE 11-21-91 13-11-91 9803 RDD/DMH/vaw
83-1119 7-10-92

Re Atlanta airtel and LHM dated 12/28/66,
captioned "COMINFIL OF SCLC, IS - C."

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and 7
copies and for New York 3 copies of LHM.

Source referred to in enclosed LHM is [redacted]

Source utilized to characterize to LEVISON
is NY 694-S* (X)(S) (U)

Referenced airtel and LHM referred to [redacted]

NO ACTION SHOULD BE PREDICATED UPON INFORMATION
FURNISHED BY [redacted] WHICH MIGHT COMPROMISE HIS SECURITY.
INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [redacted] MUST BE CLASSIFIED
CONFIDENTIAL. THE FOREGOING RESTRICTION AND CLASSIFICATION
ARE JUSTIFIED BECAUSE THIS SOURCE [redacted]

b3
b6
b7C
b7D
b7E

The enclosed LHM has been classified Secret
because it contains information furnished by NY 694-S*. It
is felt this classification is necessary in order not to
jeopardize the valuable position of the informant in
furnishing information of this nature.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
- 3 - New York (Enc. 3) (RM)
- (1 - 100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON)
- 6 - Atlanta (1 - 100-6670)

- (1 - 100-5718) (SCLC)
- (1 - 100-5586) (M. L. KING, JR.)
- (1 - 157-257) (RALPH ABERNATHY)

AGS:emp

53 JAN 16 1967

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

~~SECRET~~

INT/SEC.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
January 6, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF Classified

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE 1-26-83 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On December 21, 1966, a confidential source
advised [redacted]

b7D

This document contains neither recommendations
nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the
FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are
not to be distributed outside your agency.

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP8 BTJ/BCE
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 1-16-87
7-30-82

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

~~SECRET~~
~~GROUP 1~~

Classified by 6972 EEP/dms
Declassify on OADR 9/26/90
Garraw Lewis
534769

Excluded from Automatic
Downgrading and Declassification

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: 11-31-91 & 12-11-91 9803 RDD/DMJ/olw

83-1769 7-10-92 CA 87,013

COPIES DESTROYED
R209 DEC 30 1970

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ENCLOSURE 100-442529-2052



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
January 6, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

FD 323

~~SECRET~~

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Letterhead Memorandum, dated and captioned as above, at Atlanta, Georgia.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

b6
b7C

F B I

Date: 1/9/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6670)

RE: CIRM

The following is submitted for information for the Bureau and New York.

On 1/5/67 [redacted] advised [redacted]

b3
b7D
b7E

- ③ - Bureau (RM)
- 3 - New York (RM)
(1 - 100-148289) (HARRY WACHTEL)
- 3 - Atlanta (1 - 100-6670)
(1 - 100-5718) (SCLC)

ACS:emp

REC-3

EX-104

100-442529-2053

JAN 10 1967

[INT. SEC.]

80 JAN 16 1967

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

AT 100-6670

Informant said [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7D

NO ACTION SHOULD BE PREDICATED UPON INFORMATION
FURNISHED BY [REDACTED] WHICH MIGHT COMPROMISE HIS SECURITY.
INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [REDACTED] MUST BE CLASSIFIED
CONFIDENTIAL. THE FOREGOING RESTRICTION AND CLASSIFICATION
ARE JUSTIFIED BECAUSE THIS SOURCE [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 1/14/67

Stanley Levison, Martin Luther-King's principal advisor and long-time secret communist, previously prepared King's statement supporting Congressman Powell unequivocally. King is President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Attached information sets forth change in position of Negro leadership not to condone Powell's misconduct and arrogance but to seat him in Congress.

This information is being furnished to the White House and Acting Attorney General.

GWW

DMW:deh.

dch

Wesley

TELETYPE UNIT

JAN 14 1967

ENCODED MESSAGE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Wick
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FBI NEW YORK -2-

400 PM URGENT 1-14-67 GME

TO DIRECTOR AND ATLANTA

ATLANTA VIA WASHINGTON - ENCODED
FROM NEW YORK

6-Meylan
C. P. Brennan
LeDunnell

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
CIRM

BUREAU FILE 100-442529, ATLANTA FILE 100-6670,

ON THIS DATE NEW YORK THREE EIGHT ONE ZERO DASH S ASTERISK

FURNISHED INFORMATION THAT A DISCUSSION INITIATED BY MARTIN LUTHER KING TOOK PLACE THIS DATE WITH A PHILIP RANDOLPH, BAYARD RUSTIN, STANLEY LEVISON, ANDY YOUNG, AND RALPH ABERNATHY. SALIENT POINTS OF

DISCUSSION CONCERNED PROPOSED MEETING TO BE HELD MONDAY, JANUARY ONE SIX, NEXT, NOON, AT RANDOLPH'S OFFICE, NEW YORK CITY. PURPOSE OF MEETING WILL BE TO ISSUE STATEMENT BY NEGRO LEADERSHIP SHOWING IT DOES NOT CONDONE CONGRESSMAN POWELL'S MISCONDUCT AND ARROGANCE, BUT THAT HE SHOULD BE SEATED IN CONGRESS BECAUSE OF CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS. MEETING WILL ALSO REVEAL THAT NEGRO LEADERSHIP WILL BACK A RULES CHANGE IN CONGRESS REGARDING THE ETHICAL CONDUCT OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, BUT THAT RULE SHOULD BE EMPLOYED IMPARTIALLY TO ALL MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

END PAGE ONE

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

RELAYED TO

12 JAN 18 1967

b6
b7c

COPIES DESTROYED

8309 DEC 30 1970

0 JAN 6 1967

f 250

PAGE TWO

THE NEED FOR PROPOSED MEETING REPORTEDLY STEMMED FROM
DISTORTION OF STATEMENTS MADE ON POWELL BY VARIOUS NEGRO LEADERS
AND UNFAVORABLE PUBLIC REACTION TO DISTORTED STATEMENTS.
NEWS MEDIA AND POWELL,S REPRESENTATIVES HAVE GENERALLY OMITTED
FACT THAT POWELL,S MISCONDUCT IS NOT CONDONED AND HAVE SEIZED
ON MATERIAL INDICATING SOLID UNITY BEHIND POWELL BY NEGRO
LEADERSHIP AND OR LACK OF A SENSE OF CIVIC RIGHTEOUSNESS BY
THAT LEADERSHIP.

PROPOSED MEETING WILL BE CONFINED TO RANDOLPH, RUSTIN,
AND REPRESENTATIVES FROM ROY WILKINS, WHITNEY YOUNG, AND
MARTIN LUTHER KING WHO IS LEAVING UNITED STATES THIS DATE FOR
UNNAMED DESTINATION, TO WRITE.

LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM FOLLOWS

END

~~HOLD FOR CORR~~

~~CORR PLS LINE THIRTEEN , PAGE ONE, REST OF LINE SHOULD READ
BUT THAT RULE SHOULD BE EMPLOYED IMPARTIALLY TO ALL
MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.~~

~~EFH R RELAY~~

~~FBI WASH DC~~

CC MR. SULLIVAN

APR 14 2 03 PM '68

11 1 13 1968



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Bureau 100-106670

New York, New York
January 10, 1967

11/21/91 E (2-11-91)
200/04/10/02 88-1701
CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED BY
DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE 3-14-90 697256R/8
CN80,513 Appeal 82-0011 (4/20/90)

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED BY SP4JPM/IN
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION 1-10-87
6076

Martin Luther King, Jr.
Security Matter - C

On January 5, 1967, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that information had come to his attention which disclosed that Stanley Levison, Martin Luther King and Bernard Lee (assistant to King) were in contact on that date. The source said he learned that they discussed the following matters:

Levison related to King that Carey McWilliams, the Editor of "The Nation" magazine, had contacted him to see if King would be willing to participate in a conference on February 25, 1966, in California, which is being held by "The Nation". In describing the affair, Levison said it would be for the purpose of examining United States foreign policy as it concerns the Pacific, and in particular, as it concerns Vietnam. Among the participants will be Senators Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota and George McGovern of South Dakota.

King's presence on the panel, according to Levison, would be to talk on what he testified to during his presence before the Congressional Committee of Senator Abraham Ribicoff on December 15, 1966. In particular, Levison was of the opinion that King should say that the war in Vietnam is getting in the way of the civil rights movement in this country.

King mentioned that he would have to check on his schedule before giving Levison a reply. He was pleased to hear that he would receive a \$1,000.00 honorarium to appear.

Classified by 6080 Sd/TP
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite, included from automatic
downgrading and
declassification
ENCLOSURE
100-442529

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Another matter taken up by Levison and King was a request from Harry Wachtel that King meet with a group in New York City on Tuesday, January 10, 1967. It was Levison's opinion that the group, composed of Herman Thomas (leading National Socialist), William Coffin (Yale University Chaplain) and others, want to talk to King about the possibility of getting him to run for President of the United States in 1968. ~~24~~

King, after hearing this, said this (his candidacy) would admittedly be not with the idea of winning, confirming that it would be to give an alternative. King opined that such a meeting would be for the purpose of discussing politics, adding that he thought running would be an interesting idea. ~~24~~

Levison was of the opinion that in view of the way things are going, with the prospect that 1968 could be one of those frustrating situations for people, he thought some sober thought had to be given to King's candidacy. ~~24~~

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in April, 1964, that Stanley Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) in July, 1963. [In late 1963 and early 1964, he criticized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. Levison was described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position on civil rights. His differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism.] ~~(S)~~ (U)

The April 13, 1964 issue of "The New York Times", page 23, contained an advertisement of the Emergency Committee for Civil Liberties (ECLC) which lists Carey McWilliams of New York as a member of the ECLC Executive Committee. ~~4~~

A characterization of the ECLC is set forth in the appendix page. ~~u~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, prepared and released a pamphlet dated November 8, 1957, entitled "Operation Abolition... The Campaign Against the House Committee on Un-American Activities, The Federal Bureau of Investigation, The Government Security Program by the ECAC and its Affiliates". Pages eight and nine of this pamphlet contain information about Carey McWilliams which included U the following:

Chairman, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; member of council, American Peace Crusade; member of National Council, American Peace Mobilization; vice-chairman, National Federation of Constitutional Liberties; sponsor of the Civil Rights Congress; sponsor of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; and sponsor of the American-Slav Congress. U

The above-mentioned organizations have all been designated pursuant to Executive U Order 10450.

Harry Wachtel is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, New York, N.Y. This is a fund raising adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which Martin Luther King is President. U

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information in December, 1949, that Harry Wachtel, 41 Broad Street, New York, New York, was on a list of individuals carried as active members of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) U

The NLG is characterized in the Appendix.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Martin Luther King, Jr.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on March 5, 1944, that Harry Wachtel was on a list of names, significance not known, which was maintained at the Headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party (CP) at 26 Court Street, Brooklyn, New York. ~~X~~ u

Regarding Harry Wachtel's wife, Lenora, the same source advised on March 5, 1944, that her name and address were on a list of names of newly elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County CP. u

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~
F B I

b6
b7c

Date: 1/10/67

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL ~~CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED BY:~~
~~DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)~~
~~DATE 3-14-90 6973 GEP/18~~ (Priority)
~~CN 80,513 Appeal 2-0611 (4-10-90)~~

~~SECRET~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670) ~~CN 81,063~~

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-136535) ~~CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY~~

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. ~~REASON FOR EXTENSION~~
Sit - C ~~FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2~~
(OO: ATLANTA) ~~DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION~~

1-9-89
Classified by 3042 PWT/SL
Declassify on: OADR
82-0611 ~~Sanborn~~
Levi 83-119

Re New York teletype of 1/5/67, reporting information that KING is being encouraged to run for President of the United States in 1968.

Enclosed are ten copies of a LHM reporting information referenced above and elaborating on the conversation between KING and LEVISON. The source of the information was NY 3810-S*, a source close to LEVISON. Two copies are enclosed for the Atlanta Office.

NY 694-S* was the source of the information used to characterize STANLEY LEVISON.

This LHM is classified "SECRET" because it contains information from NY 3810-S*, a source which furnishes information of a highly sensitive nature about racial matters in the US and the Communist infiltration thereof. It is also so classified because the characterization of STANLEY LEVISON contains a concentration of information from NY 694-S*.

NY 1190-S* and Anonymous source of WFO set out in report of SA JOHN J. WALSH, 7/19/50, at WFO re "NLG" used to document WAC.

- 4 Bureau (Encls. 10) (RM)
- (1 - 100-442529) (CIRI)
- 2 Atlanta (100-5586) (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 1 New York
- (1 - 100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (43)
- (1 - 100-88442) (EDMUND CAREY MC WILLIAMS)
- (1 - 100-153735) (CIRI) (43)

NOT RECORDED
180 JAN 12 1967
16

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF CLASSIFICATION DATE 11/30/77

E
PT

ENCLOSURE

C. Wick JIK:pan (11)

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

AGENCY: ACSE, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.;
ISD, CRD, RAO.

DATE FORW: 1/11/67
HOW FORW: DMW/ci
BY: _____

17 JAN 11 1967

Per _____

~~SECRET~~

IMP. SEC.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-106670-217

FBI

Date: 1/9/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (157-1686)CHANGED RACIAL MATTERS
COMMITTEE TO SAVE POWELL,
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
RM

CIRM

Title is changed to delete Congressman from the
title.Re Chicago teletype to Director, dated 1/8/67,
captioned "COMMITTEE TO SAVE CONGRESSMAN POWELL - RM."Enclosed for the Bureau are 13 copies of an LHM,
dated and captioned as above; one copy is for their file
100-332067 and one for CIRM, 100-442529; two ~~(2)~~ copies of an
~~FD-376~~, and one (1) photo of MEEK.One copy of the LHM is also being furnished to U.S.
Secret Service and the USA's Office, Chicago, Illinois, and
to Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois.The first source referred to is [redacted] The
second source is [redacted] (PROB). The third source is [redacted]
[redacted]. The
fourth source is [redacted].b6
b7C
b7DIt is noted that RUSSELL CHARLES MEEK ~~was referred~~ subject
of Bureau file 100-332067 and according to source [redacted] and his 1967
admission, was active in the Communist Political Association (CPA)
in 1944 and 1945, being expelled from Communist Party (CP) in
1952. *100 922 910*
*100 836 910*4 - Bureau (RM) *100-332067*
(1 - 100-332067) (1 - 100-442529)
4 - Chicago
(1 - 157-873)
(1 - 157-413)
(1 - 100-415249)

FHA:mew

ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.;
DEPT. JSD, CRD, ~~SEC. SER.~~

11 JAN 11 1967

Approved: *55 JAN 21 1967*
(8) *393* DATE FORW: *1/16/67*
HOW FORW: *12/13/67*
BY: *12/13/67*

Special Agent in Charge

/ *100-442529*

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-6-9-3982

CG 157-1686

Chicago sources familiar with various phases of the CP, CP front groups, the W.E.B. De Bois Club, and the Nation of Islam, were contacted during 8/66, and could provide no information indicating MEEK to be active in these organizations.

Chicago sources, familiar with MEEK and various militant Negro activities in the Chicago area, were contacted on 1/8 and 1/9/67 and were assigned to develop any information indicating a possible demonstration by this committee.

LEAD

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will follow this matter closely and will keep the Bureau advised of all pertinent developments.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Chicago, Illinois
January 9, 1967

CG 157-1686

COMMITTEE TO SAVE POWELL,
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
RACIAL MATTER

The January 8, 1967 edition of the "Chicago Sun-Times" contained an article reporting that a press conference was held by Russell Meek, as the Press Coordinator of the captioned committee. This press conference was held at the Sherman House Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, on January 7, 1967. Meek was quoted as soliciting support from all Black Power advocates in the campaign to save Representative Adam Clayton Powell's seat in the Congress of the United States. Meek urged Negroes to save Powell's seat by "all means necessary."

An article appearing in the "Chicago Defender," a local Chicago, daily Negro newspaper, on January 8, 1967, stated that Meek is a radio personality with station WXFM and is Public Relations Representative for the Chicago Unit of the Congress on Racial Equality, (CORE).

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on December 22, 1966, that Russell Meek attended a meeting of the Coordinating Council for Black Power (CCBP) in Chicago, Illinois, on December 21, 1966. The main discussion at this meeting concerned the desirability of Negroes possessing guns to defend themselves.

This source advised that following this CCBP meeting on December 21, 1966, several of those in attendance, including Meek, visited a home where a Negro family had recently moved into a white community. It was the purpose of this CCBP group to provide protection for this Negro family and several of the CCBP members had guns in their possession.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

100-442529

**COMMITTEE TO SAVE POWELL,
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

The source advised that Meek did not have a gun in his possession, however, a female Negro, accompanying Meek, had a .32 caliber automatic in her purse, which allegedly was for Meek's use if necessary.

The source advised that the CCBP is a loose amalgamation of various organizations, including CORE, ACT and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. The source advised that CCBP affairs held to date have been attended by representatives of these organizations at which the concept of Black Power has been discussed, however, no actual functioning CCBP organization has yet evolved from these meetings.

A second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on March 9, 1966, that Russell Meek, residing at 3333 West Washington, maintains a carbine rifle with a scope and an automatic shotgun at his residence for the purpose of defending himself and advocates other Negroes possess firearms for the purpose of self protection.

This source advised on January 9, 1967, that Meek continues to reside at 3333 West Washington, Chicago, Illinois.

A third source, who has furnished insufficient information on which to determine reliability, advised from records on April 14, 1966, that Russell Charles Meek, date of birth, September 9, 1923, at Springfield, Illinois, has resided at 3333 West Washington, Apartment 902, Chicago, Illinois, since March 30, 1964. The source described Meek as follows:

Sex:	Male
Race:	Negro
Height:	5' 11"
Weight:	160 lbs.
Birthmark:	On left temple
Characteristic:	Walks with a limp
Employment:	Self employed - promoting various entertainers and is a radio announcer

**COMMITTEE TO SAVE POWELL
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

A fourth source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on May 2, 1952, that Russell Charles Meek had been expelled from the Communist Party, USA, a short time previously. This source advised Meek was expelled mainly because he was suspected of embezzling funds and also because he was a trouble maker and had been engaged in illicit love affairs.

**RUSSELL CHARLES MEEK HAS BEEN REPORTED ADVOCATING NEGROES
ARM TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AND IS REPORTED TO BE IN POSSESSION OF
FIREARMS. MEEK SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND POSSIBLY DANGEROUS.**

Pertinent portions of the above information were furnished to the following people on January 8, 1967:

[redacted]
Region I, 113th MI Group
Evanston, Illinois

[redacted]
United States Secret Service
Chicago, Illinois

b6
b7C

[redacted]
United States Attorney's Office
Chicago, Illinois

A copy of this communication is being furnished to the above agencies.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/18/67

FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-47672) (P)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - CALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and eight copies of an LHM concerning BAYARD T. RUSTIN's appearance in Downingtown, Pa., on 1/4/67. Two copies are being furnished New York for information.

The sources utilized in the attached LHM are [NY 2359-S*] and NY 4212-S*.

The attached LHM is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ as data reported by the above sources, if disclosed, could reasonably result in their identification and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.;

: ISD, CRD, RAO

DATE FORW: 1/26/67

HOW FORW: R/S

BY: [REDACTED]

1cc Ret + LHM 924 970

ENCLOSURE

- 2 - Bureau (100-442529) (Enc. 9) (RM)
- 2 - New York (Enc. 2) (RM)
 - 1 - 100- (CIRM)
 - 1 - 100- (BAYARD T. RUSTIN)
- 1 - Philadelphia (100-47672)

CJW/JBK

(5)

REC-82

ST-114

9-22-87
Classified by [REDACTED]
Declassify on: OADR

#253260

XEROX
JAN 26 1967

61 FEB 1 1967



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNDER SECRETARY AND COPY OF ENCLOSED IN

100-158790



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107

January 18, 1967

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

BAYARD T. RUSTIN

1921

On page 11, of the January 5, 1967, issue of "The Evening Bulletin," Philadelphia newspaper, Philadelphia, Pa., there appeared an article entitled "Rustin Denounces Negroes Who Refuse Help of Whites." According to this article BAYARD T. RUSTIN attended a testimonial dinner for the Reverend E. MARSHALL BEVINS at the Downingtown Motor Inn, Downingtown, Chester County, Pa. Father BEVINS, age 46, resigned last month from his post as Vicar of two small Episcopal churches in Chester County because he split with his congregation on civil rights. RUSTIN told the more than 200 persons who attended this dinner that Father BEVINS is one of those white men whom Negroes need. It is not the radical group of the right, such as the John Birch Society, that hurt the drive of Negroes for equality. It is rather the apathy of the good people who know what is the right thing to do but don't do it. RUSTIN also denounced as "idiots and fools" those Negroes who want to exclude whites from the civil rights movement. He noted the attempts of several civil rights leaders to drive whites out of the movement as reverse racism. White men who have the courage and nobility to stand up for equality for all men are needed by the Negroes and "we want them in the movement."

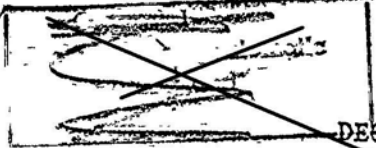
In the "Saturday Evening Post," issue of July 11-18, 1964, page 76, BAYARD RUSTIN is the subject of a feature article captioned: "The Lone Wolf of Civil Rights." In it, RUSTIN is said to have come to New York in 1938, as an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL), and as such, he had the job of recruiting students for the "Party." Furthermore, the article reports that during his first years in New York, RUSTIN gave most of his earnings to the "Party." He reportedly left the "Party" in 1941, the article states.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-442529-2055

2055
9-22-81
DECLASSIFIED BY OADR
#253760

AGENCIES
DATE 3-14-77
DECLASSIFICATION
GD/KR



ENCLOSURE

DECLASSIFIED BY 6058
ON 2-23-77 GD/KR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BAYARD T. RUSTIN

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker," February 11, 1957, page 1, column 2, reported that BAYARD RUSTIN, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was an observer at the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, United States of America, (CPUSA), held in New York City, on February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist publication until it ceased publication on January 13, 1958.

On September 25, 1963, PH T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that during a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, USA, on September 25, 1963, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS remarked that, 'RUSTIN calls me constantly--openly.' (S) (U)

On February 19 and 20, 1964, PH T-2, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that BAYARD RUSTIN contacted BENJAMIN J. DAVIS on February 19 and 20, 1964, and sought his advice as to how he could escape from a speaking engagement to which he was committed. On the latter contact, DAVIS told RUSTIN that he was working on his request and had contacted friends who had contacts with the group to which RUSTIN was to speak.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 1/13/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6670)

CIRM

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and seven copies, three for New York and two for Jackson, of LHM.

Source referred to in enclosed LHM is [REDACTED].

Sources utilized to characterize HARRY WACHTEL are NY 1190-S* and anonymous source of WFO set out in report of SA JOHN J. WALSH 7/19/50 at WFO re "NLG; IS - C".

[REDACTED] made available [REDACTED]

b3
b6
b7C
b7D
b7E

[REDACTED] referred to in the enclosed LHM.

Source also furnished [REDACTED]

- ENCLOSURE REG-25 100-442529-2056
EX-103
- 3- Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
 - 3- New York (Enc. 3) (100-153735) (RM) (1-100-148289) (HARRY WACHTEL)
 - 2- Jackson (Enc. 2) (RM)
 - 5- Atlanta

(1 - 100-6670)

6 (1 - 100-6670) (SCIC)

(1 - 157-1964) (MARCHES AND DEMONSTRATIONS, GRENADA, MISS.)

AGS:bjh
(13)

Approved: JVH cm
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

AT 100-6670

b7D

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] are being maintained
in the exhibit section of Atlanta file 100-5718.

Informant observed [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

For security reasons, the aforementioned details
have not been included in the enclosed LHM.

NO ACTION SHOULD BE PREDICATED UPON INFORMATION
FURNISHED BY [REDACTED] WHICH MIGHT COMPROMISE HIS SECURITY.
INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [REDACTED] MUST BE CLASSIFIED ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~.
THE FOREGOING RESTRICTION AND CLASSIFICATION ARE JUSTIFIED
BECAUSE THIS SOURCE [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.Atlantā, Georgia
January 13, 1967COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On January 11, 1967, a confidential source advised

b7D

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~GROUP 1~~~~EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION~~COPIES DESTROYED
R209 DEC 30 1970100-442529-2056
ENCLOSURE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
January 13, 1967

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Letterhead Memorandum at Atlanta dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed) below whoses identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Date: 1/17/67

Transmit the following in CN87,063~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED BY

DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)

DATE: 3-14-90 6972 EEP/18 (Priority)

~~SECRET~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

SUBJECT: CIRI
IS - C
(OO: NEW YORK)CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED BY: S. J. M. M. L.
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION: 1-17-87Re New York teletype of 1/14/67, concerning
conference between MARTIN LUTHER KING and some of his
advisers, which took place on that date.Enclosed are ten copies of a letterhead
memorandum incorporating the information contained in
referenced teletype. Two copies are enclosed for the
Atlanta Office. One copy is also enclosed for the
information of WFO.NY 3810-S* was the source of the information set
forth in the LHM.NY 694-S* was the source who furnished the
information used in the characterization of STANLEY LEVISON.

b7D

NY 2359-S* and NY 4212-S* were used to characterize
BAYARD RUSTIN. [redacted] was the source who documented
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS.

ENCLOSURE

- REC 11/100-442529-2057 not disseminated
facts sent to WFO
in let dated
1/18/67
BMC
- 1-Bureau (Encls. 10) (RM)
(1 - 100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
2-Atlanta (100-6670) (Encls. 2) (RM)
(1 - 100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
1-Washington Field (100-) (Encl. 1) REJAN 11 & 1967
3-New York
(1 - 100-46729) (BAYARD RUSTIN) (43)
(1 - 100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (43)
(1 - 100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (43)
(1 - 100-149194) (CONINFIL, SCLC) (43)

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in ChargeSent 11 Per 11ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Classified by 6050 101/TAP
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite
11/30/77~~SECRET~~

100-106670

NY 100-153735

This LHM is classified "~~SECRET~~" because it contains information from NY 3810-S*, a source close to STANLEY LEVISON, which furnishes information of a highly sensitive nature about racial matters and the Communist influence thereof. It is also so classified because the characterization of STANLEY LEVISON contains a concentration of information from NY 694-S* ~~(S)~~ ~~(U)~~

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York
January 17, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. Bureau 100-442529

~~SECRET~~

Classified by SP4 JMC/pt
Declassify on: OADR
#233760
3042 PWT/SH 1-9-89
82-0611 Harmon/King
Levison
83-1719

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP4 JMC/pt
REASON FOR EXTENSION 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 1-17-87
6076

Communist Influence in Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

C.P. member

On January 14, 1967, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that he had learned that a conference between Martin Luther King, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Bayard Rustin, Stanley Levison, A. Philip Randolph (President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters), Andrew Young (Executive Director of the SCLC) and Ralph Abernathy (Secretary-Treasurer of the SCLC) took place on that date. It was further learned by the source that their conference was in regard to the controversy over Congressman Adam Clayton Powell and in particular, the refusal of Congress to seat Powell. According to the information received by the source, the following was, in substance, what transpired during their discussion: CU

First of all, Randolph announced that on Monday, January 16, 1967, he would hold a meeting at his office in New York City to discuss with civil rights leaders and other leaders in various walks of life, Congressman Powell's arrogance and misconduct and then issue a statement pointing out that the Negro leadership does not condone his conduct. CU

King announced that he would not be able to attend the meeting at Randolph's because he was going on vacation to Jamaica. However, he was glad to hear that some action was being planned since his organization needs a sense of direction on the matter. CU

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED BY
DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: 3-14-90 1972 EEP/82

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP (S) Classification
DATE 3/20/78 JPB/mly

~~SECRET~~
11-21-91 82-0611 (4-20-90)
9803 RDP/DMS/OW 83-1719
7-10-92
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-442529-2057

ENCLOSURE

~~Secret~~

COPIES DESTROYED

R208 DEC 30 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

~~SECRET~~

Communist Influence in Racial Matters

The question arose as to what kind of organization Randolph has organized to handle those matters pertinent to Powell's difficulty with Congress. It was learned from Randolph that he had organized a committee called Justice and Congress which will be made up of civil rights leaders and some church leaders. This committee, according to Randolph, will be an Ad Hoc Committee until a meeting of rights leaders takes place in Washington in two weeks, at which time the committee will go out of existence. ~~ku~~

It was Rustin's opinion that some decision must be reached on Monday to control Powell. He mentioned that Powell had been running around the country telling everyone that he had Randolph and that "stupid King" in his pocket. It was Rustin's conclusion that unless Powell is stopped, he will ruin the entire civil rights movement. Rustin, the source mentioned, has very little sympathy for Powell. ~~ku~~

King pointed out that he had received numerous letters from people who were outraged because he supported Powell. Those people, King mentioned, were disillusioned and felt that Negro leaders had been very dishonest in supporting Powell without pointing out that he was responsible for the treatment he is receiving. It was King's conclusion that in supporting Powell, it looked as if they (Negro leaders) were condoning immorality in terms of conduct when it comes to the money questions and all of the other things that finally came out concerning Powell. King admitted that he would not mind facing the criticism and loss of money that he would surely suffer as long as Powell appreciated it, but was of the opinion that he (Powell) did not appreciate the support. ~~ku~~

Randolph agreed that many white people who have a very fine record on civil rights, feel that when the Negro leadership came out in support of Powell, that it had displayed a lack of civic righteousness. In order to offset this attitude, Randolph felt that it must be made clear that the Negro leadership has a Constitutional obligation to support Powell. ~~ku~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Communist Influence in Racial Matters

It was Rustin's feeling that what they (the Negro leadership) should say in any press release is that with regard to the tragic situation with Powell as with others, what we (the Negro leadership) now call for is the abolishment of the Rules Committee as it is now set up, and that an ethical standard be established on which all people could be judged. X u

It was Levison's position that no longer could the Negro leadership "pussyfoot" on the issue. He maintained that the Negro leadership was already in an unbalanced situation, in that the country believes that the Negro leadership had backed Powell on everything he had done. Levison enumerated two points which he said had to be gotten across to the public: one, the Constitutional and Congressional issues that are involved in the hope that they can understand; and the other, what the Negro leadership feels about Powell. In explaining what he meant, Levison was of the opinion that if Negro leaders could call Powell arrogant in private, they should also say the same in public. * u

Levison expressed confidence that if the most prominent Negro leaders were to make a statement that Powell's misconduct was misconduct, it would get a press play that would be big enough to wash out any preliminary or temporary confusion that he may have created. X u

The conference concluded on a note of agreement that on Monday, January 16, 1967, following the meeting at Randolph's office, a statement would be issued pointing out that the Negro leadership concludes that what is involved in this case are principles that are bigger than ordinary Congressional rules. But these rules, whatever they may be, have to be applied to everyone, the statement will include. The statement will also urge that Congress respect the Congressional District which elected Powell. X u

11.4 Rustin announced that Monday's noon meeting will be attended by Randolph, Rustin, representatives from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Whitney Young, Director of the Urban League, and representatives from the SCLC. X u

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Communist Influence in Racial Matters

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in April, 1964, that Stanley Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) in July, 1963. [In late 1963 and early 1964, he criticized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. Levison was described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position on civil rights. His differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism.] ~~(S)~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Communist Influence In Racial Matters

In "The Saturday Evening Post", issue of July 11-18, 1964, page 76, Bayard Rustin is the subject of a feature article captioned: "The Lone Wolf of Civil Rights". In it, Rustin is said to have come to New York in 1938, as an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL), and as such, he had the job of recruiting students for the "Party". Furthermore, the article reports that during his first years in New York, Rustin gave most of his earnings to the "Party". He reportedly left the "Party" in 1941, the article states.

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker", February 11, 1957, page 1 column 2, reported that Bayard Rustin, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was an observer at the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), held in New York City, on February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist publication until it ceased publication on January 13, 1958.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on September 25, 1963, that during a meeting of the National Board, CP, USA, on that date, Benjamin J. Davis remarked that, "Rustin calls me constantly--openly." ~~u~~

Another confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 19, 20, 1964, that Bayard Rustin contacted Benjamin J. Davis on those dates ~~u~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Communist Influence In Racial Matters

and sought his advice as to how he could escape from a speaking engagement to which he was committed. On the latter contact, Davis told Rustin that he was working on his request and had contacted friends who had contacts with the group to which Rustin was to speak. ~~84~~

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on January 21, 1964, that as of that date, Benjamin J. Davis was National Secretary of the CP, USA.

"The New York Times", August 24, 1964, page 27, column 4, reports that Benjamin J. Davis, National Secretary, CP, USA, died in New York City on the night of August 22, 1964.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM : *HB* SAC, ALBUQUERQUE (100-2744) (P)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

DATE: 1/18/67

Shoemaker

Re Miami airtel 12/28/66.

On Page 3 of referenced communication, there is listed "JOE from New Mexico" who reportedly attended the CP Negro Commission meeting held on 12/8/66, in New York City.

A review of available information reflects that Albuquerque has no one in its division believed to be identical with this individual.

A review of other informant reports concerning the CP National Committee meeting held in New York City during December, 1966, reflects that the individual in question is probably JOSE CASTILLO of San Antonio, Texas.

It is suggested that San Antonio furnish the Bureau and interested offices their comments upon this identification.

W

EX-108
REC 17

100-442529-2058

8 JAN 20 1967

- 2 - Bureau (RAM)
- 2 - Miami (100-15058)(CIRM)(RAM)
- 1 - New York (100-153735)(CIRM)(RAM)
- 2 - San Antonio (RAM)
 - (1 - CIRM)
 - (1 - JOSE CASTILLO)
- 2 - Albuquerque

*100 924
94D*

INT. SEC.

JAN 30 1967 sa





~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

January 18, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Bureau 100-442529
New York 100-153735

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.~~

Communist Influence in Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

Classified by *4/2/86*
Declassify on: OADR

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on January 17, 1966, that information had come to his attention, which disclosed that Bayard Rustin (organizer of the March on Washington, D.C.) and Stanley Levison were in contact on that date. The source advised that his information indicated that their contact was in regard to a meeting which took place on January 16, 1967, in the New York Office of A. Philip Randolph, the President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and which was attended by representatives of several civil rights organizations. The meeting, which was for the purpose of arriving at some decision as to what course of action should be taken in the controversy over Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, was held at noon time on that date.

According to the source, Rustin, in reporting to Levison on what transpired during the meeting, said he attended along with other civil rights leaders, but whose names he did not disclose. Rustin was angry over the fact that no one from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) attended.

CLASS. & EXT. BY *SP8 BTB/BCE*
REASON-FQIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW *1-18-87*

7-30-82

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF *Classified*

DATE *1-26-83*

~~SECRET~~
GROUP 1
Excluded from
automatic down-
grading and de-
classification.

9-22-87
Classified by *SP8 BTB/BCE*
Declassify on: OADR
#253760

Classified by *SP8 BTB/BCE*
Declassify on: OADR
#253760

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100-442529-2059
ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

Communist Influence in Racial Matters

With regard to individuals who attended the meeting; the same source advised on January 14, 1967, that Rustin planned on the following to be present: A. Philip Randolph, Whitney Young, Director of the Urban League; representatives from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); representatives from the SCLC, and Rustin.

It was decided during the meeting referred to, that a statement which Rustin prepared, should be issued on behalf of the Negro leadership. In essence, the statement, when issued, will point out that differences exist within the civil rights movement as to the accomplishments of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell. But without condoning the actions of Powell, the civil rights movement has two things to say: it strongly objects to the unseating of Powell; that he has been denied due process, but his constituents have been unduly deprived of representation in Congress. The statement will also point out that this is not an issue among Negroes alone, but concerns all Americans who believe in the democratic process. It will further state that the position of the Negro leadership is supported by New York Senators Javits and Kennedy.

In conclusion, the statement will urge a uniform standard of conduct for all Congressmen, a standard of conduct which should be enforced among all members. The statement will point out that the Negro leadership does not want a double standard of conduct, and that they do not shut their eyes to the shortcomings of Powell or anyone else, but that Powell is the only one who has been judged. When everyone is judged, not Powell alone, the Negro leadership will not demand immunity for anyone.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Communist Influence in Racial Matters

It was Levison's opinion that the last sentence in the statement should be deleted because it was defensive and sounded as though the Negro leadership was asking for immunity for Powell. Rustin acceded to Levison's objection and agreed to delete the objectionable part.

According to the source, Rustin mentioned that the statement would not be released until Martin Luther King gave his approval and agreed to sign it.

It was Levison's opinion that the statement mildly castigates Powell and less than heatedly condemns what was done.

... In "The Saturday Evening Post", issue of July 11-18, 1964, page 76, Bayard Rustin is the subject of a feature article captioned: "The Lone Wolf of Civil Rights". In it, Rustin is said to have come to New York in 1938, as an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL), and as such, he had the job of recruiting students for the "Party". Furthermore, the article reports that during his first years in New York, Rustin gave most of his earnings to the "Party". He reportedly left the "Party" in 1941, the article states.

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~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

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~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

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~~SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 1/18/67

~~SECRET~~

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

CLASS. & EXT. BY S/8 BTB/BCE
REASON FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 1-18-87

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS-C
(OO:NY)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF Classified

DATE 1-26-83

ReNYairtel and LHM dated 1/17/66 and NY
telephone call to Bureau of same date concerning meeting
of Negro leadership at A. Philip Randolph's office on
1/16/66.

Enclosed are nine copies of an LHM incorporating
information furnished to Bureau in referenced telephone
call. Two copies are furnished the AT office since that
office is origin in the COMINFIL SCLC and MARTIN LUTHER
KING cases.

NY 3810-S* was the source who furnished the
information used in the characterization of STANLEY
LEVISON.

[NY 2359-S*] and NY 4212-S* (Former) were the
sources mentioned in the characterization of BAYARD RUSTIN.
[redacted] was the source who furnished the characterization
of BENJAMIN J. DAVIS.

*Not disseminated.
This info contained
in W.H. Act 1/18/67.
DMD*

b7D

C.G. Wick

JMK:smv
(10)

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 9) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6670) (Enc. 2) (RM) (CIRM)
- 1 - New York (100-46729) (BAYARD RUSTIN) (43)
- 1 - New York (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (43)
- 1 - New York (100-149194) (COMINFIL SCLC) (43)
- 1 - New York

18 JAN 19 1967

Classified by SP10/10/87
Declassify on: OADR
1-13-87

*DRY Used
6972 EEP DMS
9/26-90
6/12/90 LEVISON
8/3-17/9*

JAN 26 1967

Special Agent in Charge

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

This LHM is classified "~~Secret~~" because it contains information from NY 3810-S*, a source which furnishes information of a highly sensitive information about racial matters in the US and the Communist infiltration thereof. It is also classified in this manner since the characterization of STANLEY LEVISON contains a concentration of information from NY 694-S* (S) (U)

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/20/67

FROM :

SAC, NEW ORLEANS (100-17122) (P*)

SUBJECT:

CIRM
IS - C

Shankland

ReBulet to Albany, 8/28/64 and New Orleans letter
to Bureau, 11/1/66.

No information has been received by this office
relative to communist influence in racial matters during
the past quarter and accordingly, no report is being
submitted.

- ② - Bureau (RM)
1 - New Orleans

EJC:jab
(3)

B

REC- 39 100-442529-2065

EX-104 12 JAN 23 1967

Shankland
JAN 23 1967

F-475
JAN 20 1967



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/21/67

FROM : SAC, SAVANNAH (100-5131) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C

(OO: NEW YORK)

Re Savannah letter to Bureau, 10/27/66.

In the absence of any information within the Savannah Division regarding captioned matter, this letter is being submitted in lieu of a report.

- 1 cc 4/24/67
② - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
1 - Savannah

WPF:ehr
(5)

EX-103

100-442529-2061

REC-6

JAN 24 1967

INT. SEC.

F-475
61 JAN 20 1967



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~SECRET~~

Atlanta, Georgia
January 20, 1967

Classified by 6972 EEP/DMS
Declassify on: OADR 9/26/90
Carew/Levison
83-1719

~~Classified by~~
~~Declassify on: OADR~~

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On January 19, 1967, a confidential source advised that the New York City Office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) recently commenced preparation of a new mail appeal for the purpose of soliciting financial contributions to SCLC. (X)U

This activity is under the general supervision of
STANLEY LEVISON (X)U

~~CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: [REDACTED]~~

CN87063
~~CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: 11/21/96 83-1719 7-10-92~~
98037 DD/DMS/lee

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

- 1 -

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.~~

~~SECRET~~

~~GROUP I
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION~~

COPIES DESTROYED
R209 DEC 30 1970

100-442529-2062
ENCLOSURE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
January 20, 1967

~~SECRET~~

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Reference Letterhead Memorandum at Atlanta
 dated and captioned as above.
Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

b6
b7C

FBI

~~SECRET~~

Date: 1/20/67

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

CLASS & EXT. BY SP8 BJS/BCE
REASON-FCM II, 1-4.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 1-20-87
7-30-82

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6670)

CIRM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Enclosed for Bureau are original and seven copies, and
for New York three, of LHM.

Source referred to in enclosed LHM is [redacted] (X)u

Source used to characterize LEVISON is [NY 694-S*] (X)(S) (U)

The information set forth in the enclosed LHM was
obtained by informant on 1/19/67 [redacted] (X)u

b3
b7D
b7E

NO ACTION SHOULD BE PREDICATED UPON INFORMATION
FURNISHED BY [redacted] WHICH MIGHT COMPROMISE HIS SECURITY.
INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [redacted] MUST BE CLASSIFIED ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~.
THE FOREGOING RESTRICTION AND CLASSIFICATION ARE JUSTIFIED
BECAUSE THIS SOURCE [redacted] (X)u

The enclosed LHM has been classified "Secret" because
it contains information furnished by [NY 694-S*] (S) it is felt (U)
this classification is necessary in order not to jeopardize
the valuable position of the informant in furnishing information
of this nature (X)u

- 3- Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
3- New York (Enc. 3) (RM)
 (1 - 100-111100) (STANLEY LEVISON) 100-442529-2062
3- Atlanta
 (1 - 100-6670)
 (1 - 100-5718)

EX-108

Classified by 6972 EEP/dms

Declassify on: OADR 9/26/90
GARROW/LEVISON 83-1719

REC 20

JAN 23 1967

~~SECRET~~

AGS:bjh
(9)

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, ~~SECURITY~~, APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

AND FIELD OFFICES

DATE FORW: 1/24/67

HOW FORW: R/S

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
SLIP(S) OF

~~Classified~~

1-26-83

Approved: HS con
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/20/67

FROM : SAC, PHOENIX (100-5951) (P*)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

OO: NY

Remylet, 10/19/66.

The Phoenix Office has no reportable information
to submit in this matter at this time.

- 100-92497D
- ② - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - New York (RM)
 - 1 - Phoenix

PGT/gle
(4)

REC-72

ST-114

100-442529-2063

15 JAN 24 1967

INT. SEC.

70 JAN 31 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/23/67

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-35427) (P*)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

Re Boston letter dated 10/28/66.

During the period from 10/28/66 to 1/23/67 the Boston Division has received no information concerning captioned matter. No report is being submitted.

LEAD:

BOSTON

At Boston, Massachusetts

Will follow the activities of Communist influence in Racial Matters.

Will, if sufficient information is developed, submit a quarterly report by 5/1/67.

2-Bureau (100-442529)
1-Boston (100-35427)
JFN:mm
(3)

EX-103

REC-3

100-442529-2064

12 JAN 26 1967

70 JAN 31 1967

INT. SEC.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



FBI

Date: 1/23/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL-REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-26)
FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-943) (P)
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Los Angeles airtel and letterhead memorandum
(LHM) to Bureau dated 1/5/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 12 copies of an LHM
dated and captioned as above. One copy is designated for
Bufile 100-442529, (CIRM).

Local military agencies, the U.S. Secret Service,
Los Angeles, and the U.S. Attorney, Los Angeles, have been
furnished a copy of the LHM.

Informants and sources of the Los Angeles Division
have been instructed to report any racial situation immedi-
ately to the Los Angeles Division. As additional informants
and sources are developed, they are instructed to do the
same.

The following sources were utilized in this LHM:

Source

Identity 100-442529-

1 ENCLOSURE
2

NOT RECORDED
98 FEB 2 1967

b7D

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 12) (RM)
- (1 - 100-442529) (CIRM)
2 - Los Angeles
(1 - 100-66078) (CIRM)

CRIM, SS, IS, CPS, O, E, C, S, JAN 26 1967
Agency G-2, ORI, OSI, CRD

Date Forw. JAN 27 1967

How Forw. RS

SUBV. CONTROL

RACIAL UNIT

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-6-26-1160

LA 157-943

Source

Location

3

4



- PSI

b6
b7C
b7D

The LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ because data furnished by source 1 through 4 could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of a continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

In the two week period from 1/1 through 1/15/67 ten potential criminal informants and no potential security informants were advised according to Bureau instructions regarding the Bureau's continuing interest in racial matters.

Close liaison is being maintained with representatives of police departments and sheriff's offices regarding the current racial situation in the Los Angeles Division.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
January 23, 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

100-442529-

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The information set forth is based on the comments and views of local Government officials, police officials, leaders of various racial groups, established sources, and public source information, and pertains to the racial situation as of the time the comments and views are expressed; the possibility that the racial situation in a particular area may abruptly change at any time should be taken into consideration.

All sources referred to herein have furnished reliable information in the past unless otherwise indicated.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

- I. NAME OF COMMUNITY, CURRENT OVER-ALL
POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE RELATIONSHIP
OF NEGRO OR OTHER PERTINENT RACIAL
MINORITY POPULATION TO OVER-ALL POPULATION

No change.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

II. GENERAL RACIAL CONDITIONS

Los Angeles, California

In the Los Angeles "Herald-Dispatch," a Los Angeles Negro newspaper, issue of January 5, 1967, page 1, was an article reporting that Ben Peery, President of the Watts Coordinating Council, had objected to National Broadcasting Company filming of a television epic entitled, "Losers Weepers," on the basis it gave a bad or false image of Watts, California. The play was written by Harry Dolan, a newcomer to Watts. Peery stated the film was an "insult to every decent Negro woman in America and ...a slur on the attitude of motherhood in our community."

In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 11, 1967, II-1, was an article reporting that five of the original seven persons given temporary appointments to "represent the poor" on the Los Angeles County anti-poverty board could not qualify for the positions today, because they make over the \$4,000 a year minimum required for the position. Three of the five persons now work for the anti-poverty program.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 11, 1967, II-6, was an article reporting that Los Angeles had instituted a two million dollar Community Analysis Program to chart the "physical, economic and social profiles" of the city. The study is to take three years and will furnish data for planners and administrators. Other cities call the same program the Community Renewal Program. The study will be financed two-thirds by the Federal Government and one third by Los Angeles. Critics feel the study will produce no tangible results.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel," Los Angeles Negro newspaper, issue of January 12, 1967, page A-1, was an article

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

reporting the United States Department of Urban Development had funded approximately \$350,000 to survey and plan for a redevelopment of the Watts area of Los Angeles. Congressman Augustus Hawkins and Mayor Samuel Yorty expressed pleasure over the funding, which is hoped to solve many problems in the area.

A similar article in the "Los Angeles Times" of January 11, 1967, II-1, reported that after the above survey, more than six million dollars would be available for the actual reconstruction of the area, which should take several years.

On January 12, 1967, source 1, a highly placed official in the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), advised that Father Luce of the Episcopal Church Teen Post in East Los Angeles, had stated the Happy Valley Community Alert Patrol had been disbanded as there was no longer a need for it. He stated, however, that his assistant, Father Woods, was still on the steering committee of the Police Malpractice Complaint Center at 2222 East First Street, Los Angeles. Father Woods is a member of the State Bar of California and a graduate of Stanford Law School.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 17, 1967, I-3, was an article reporting that two million dollars was voted by the Los Angeles Board of Education to establish a new Southwest Los Angeles Junior College in the Watts area of Los Angeles. The site is considered controversial, and Stephen Reichardt of the Los Angeles College Teachers Association stated the new school would be an all-Negro school, extending 12 years of segregated education to 14 years.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

Monrovia - Duarte area

Monrovia and Duarte are cities in the San Gabriel Valley, approximately 15 and 20 miles respectively east of Los Angeles.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 11, 1967, II-9, was an article reporting the installation of new officers for the Monrovia - Duarte Human Relations Council (HRC). Mrs. Richard Ray of Monrovia heads the group. She announced open housing was the most important concern of the organization and stated the HRC would maintain a listing service to help citizens find housing outside of traditional areas.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 11, 1967, II-9, was an article announcing that 210 teachers and administrators of the Duarte Unified School District were to attend two programs on human relations at Duarte High School, to aid the district in awareness and planning regarding minority groups in the area.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of January 12, 1967, page A-2, was an article reporting that Duarte city councilman Kurt Hahn stated he vigorously opposed a plan to merge the LAPD and the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office (LASO), being studied by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors. Councilman Hahn stated he "wanted no part of central Los Angeles racial or poverty programs which would become an overriding consideration in a merged metropolitan police agency." The LASO presently polices the city of Duarte.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 16, 1967, II-1, was an article reporting a citizens school committee had been established in Monrovia to study "obvious racial imbalance" in the school system.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

III. CURRENT EVALUATION OF VIOLENCE
POTENTIAL

Los Angeles, California

On January 17, 1967, source 1 advised the general racial situation in the Los Angeles area appeared calm, with no particular incidents of racial tension at the present. Source stated, however, that Negro leaders have indicated concern over cut backs in the poverty program and over possible further cut backs by the new Reagan administration. Source could predict no racial violence in the foreseeable future.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of January 12, 1967, page A-6, was an article by Archie W. Hardwick, Executive Director of the Westminster Neighborhood Association, analyzing the riots during the summer of 1966. He stated the basic reasons for the riots were "bitterness and frustration fostered by overcrowded slums...unemployment...and ineffective cooperation between the races." He stated until Americans realized this and did something about conditions the riots would continue. He pointed out that Americans apparently do not realize this because of the so-called "back lash" to the riots, and the blaming of them on "outside agitators... and Communists." He stated most of the riots would not have occurred had the conditions which caused them been changed in advance.

Venice, California

Venice is an area of Los Angeles immediately adjacent to Santa Monica, California, policed by the LAPD.

On December 21, 1966, John Fleming, Director of "Project Action," a Negro self-help organization in Venice, stated his group was conducting training programs for youths from poor and broken

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

homes in the area. He stated in his opinion the reported incidents during the summer and fall of 1966 in Venice by the police and residents were minor in nature and were exaggerated by the newspapers. He stated he was at the scene of each incident and they were grossly exaggerated. He stated he anticipated no racial trouble in the Venice and Santa Monica areas in the near future.

On January 12, 1967, California Health and Welfare Administrator Spencer Williams announced the closing of eight out of 13 Service Centers throughout California. The centers had been instituted to provide varied services to residents of poverty areas after the Watts riot of August, 1965. Among the centers closed was the center at 324 Lincoln Boulevard, Venice.

On January 13, 1967, source 1 advised there had been a meeting in Venice on the night of January 12, 1967, where a protest over the closing of the Venice Service Center (VSC) was planned. Speakers at the meeting stated if they did not get what they wanted they would "burn" outside of Venice. Source considered the remarks a baseless threat with no location for such "burning" being mentioned. Pickets marched in front of the VSC on January 13 and on January 16 to 18, 1967, and picketed the Los Angeles residence of Governor Reagan on January 13, 1967.

Source 1 advised the organizations sponsoring the demonstrations were "Project Action" and the Venice Community Improvement Union, described by source as a non-existent union headed by Robert Casteel, male Negro who participated in the demonstrations. Source further advised John Haag had been active in planning the demonstrations.

Source 2 advised on November 3, 1966, that John Haag was area chairman of the W.E.B. Du Bois Club (see appendix) in Los Angeles until he resigned in early 1966 to assume a position with a new political group.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

The office of the Watch Commander, Venice Division, LAPD, advised on January 16, 1967, that the situation in the Venice area was normal, other than for the above demonstrations. Source 1 advised on January 16, 1967, there did not appear to be an increase in tension in the southeastern and Watts areas of Los Angeles as a result of the demonstrations.

Source 3 advised on January 18, 1967, there had been a meeting of the City-wide Central Committee of the W.E.B. Du Bois Club in Los Angeles on January 17, 1967, at which plans were announced for a demonstration at the VSC on January 19, 1967, which might be "unpleasant" if Governor Reagan's office did not meet demands of those at the VSC.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 19, 1967, II-1, was an article reporting a confused state of affairs regarding the VSC. Center Director Phillip Carter announced the center would remain open because of promised Los Angeles city and county participation. Mayor Samuel Yorty announced the city council would appropriate \$50,000 to keep the center going, however, Carter stated operating costs were \$25,000 per month. A statement from the office of Governor Reagan made it plain the governor expected the city and county to provide any services.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

IV. IDENTITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS
INVOLVED IN LOCAL RACIAL SITUATION

On January 17, 1967, source 1 advised there is a Social Action Training Center at 1423 East Florence Avenue, in the southeastern Los Angeles area. John McKee Pratt, Executive Director of the Commission on Church and Race of the Southern California Council of Churches, stated the center is financed partially by the above commission and partially by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The purpose of the center is to instruct young Negroes and Mexican-Americans in history and sociology. The program is designed to identify those who are leaders of their groups and to try to influence them toward constructive social action. One of the supervisors of this center is Woodrow Coleman, an active member of the Los Angeles chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality and a member of the Non-Violent Action Committee. The center is directed by Mr. Walter Bremond.

On March 25, 1966, source 4 advised Woodrow Coleman was a speaker at a meeting of the Los Angeles Local - Socialist Workers Party (see appendix) on March 4, 1966, at 1702 East Fourth Street, Los Angeles.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of January 12, 1967, page A-8, was an article reporting that Congressman Augustus Hawkins has saluted the Community Alert Patrol (CAP) for the excellent services it had rendered citizens in his district. He praised Al Bailey and Jimmy Brown for leading the CAP.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of January 12, 1967, page A-6, was an editorial by columnist Leon H. Washington, Jr., reporting that data gathered in "Upward Bound" projects reflected that youths from poor backgrounds who now go to college at the rate of eight per cent could be motivated by continuation of the program to go at the rate of more than 50 per cent. The editorial urged expanded support for the program by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

V. IDENTITIES OF LEADERS AND INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED

The following individuals have been involved in the local racial situation:

John Fleming, head of "Project Action," is active in the racial situation in the Venice area (see Section III).

Walter Bremond, director of the Social Action Training Center, 1423 East Florence Avenue, Los Angeles. Woodrow Coleman is one of the supervisors at this center (see Section IV).

Al Bailey and Jimmy Brown head the Citizens Alert Patrol in the Los Angeles area (see Section IV).

Benjamin Peery, President of the Watts Coordinating Council, remains active in the racial situation in the Los Angeles area (see Section VI).

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of January 5, 1967, page A-1, was an article reporting that Thomas L. Galloway, whose arrest triggered a night of rioting in Watts in March, 1966, was sentenced to a term of one to ten years on three counts of battery of a police officer and one count of felony rock throwing. He was convicted on these charges in June, 1966, but sentencing had been delayed to permit a psychiatric examination of Galloway.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 17, 1967, II-2, was an article reporting that Edward Lee King, convicted of arson during the Watts riots of August, 1965, on the basis of "voice print" testimony had been sentenced to a term of one to ten years in Superior Court, Los Angeles.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

VI. EXISTENCE OF CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION
BETWEEN MINORITY LEADERS AND LOCAL
OFFICIALS

In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 18, 1967, II-1, was an article reporting that a citizens advisory council in the 77th Division area of the LAPD had hailed the LAPD for opening up communications with the community in the past months since Chief of Police Thad Brown has been in charge of the LAPD. Reverend Joe B. Hardwick, pastor of a Baptist church in the area, stated the council meets with the LAPD Division every month. He said allegations of mistreatment have been presented to the LAPD with "satisfactory results." Benjamin Peery, President of the Watts Coordinating Council stated "the old tenseness is gone" and "you no longer encounter the feeling of hostility" toward police.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

VII. OBJECTIVES SOUGHT BY MINORITY COMMUNITY
AND POSSIBLE POINTS OF CONTENTION

In the "Los Angeles Times" of January 11, 1967, II-6, was an article reporting a major integration move is being planned by the Los Angeles City School District. Called the Mid-City Secondary Education Project, it is to cost 1.4 million dollars. The plan emphasizes an exchange of as many as 750 students by bus among five high schools in a modification of the national concept of "educational parks." Different schools will specialize in laboratories in different subjects, with students traveling to another school for these special subjects. The project is voluntary and has been approved by the State Department of Education and the United States Office of Education.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of January 12, 1967, page A-6, was an article by Wesley R. Brazier of the Urban League, congratulating the Los Angeles City Board of Education for approving the above project. He considered the plan "psychologically significant" and stated it was a significant application of community action.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

VIII. REACTION OF LEADERS AND MEMBERS
OF THE COMMUNITY TO MINORITY DEMANDS

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of January 12, 1967, page A-6, was an article reporting that President Johnson and Poverty Director Sargent Shriver were being urged to save some of the anti-poverty programs in Los Angeles. Mayor Samuel Yorty announced the pleas were made by his office in recent letters. Yorty stated that the ten million dollar cutback could be serious, "undoing much of the good that has been accomplished."

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished to Region II, 115th Military Intelligence Unit, United States Army, Pasadena; to Office of Special Investigations, Norton Air Force Base, San Bernardino; to Naval Investigative Service, San Diego; the United States Attorney, Los Angeles; and the United States Secret Service, Los Angeles, for the information and completion of their files.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP)

On May 12, 1966, a confidential source advised that the LAL-SWP has been in existence since the 1930's and continues to exist. The source further advised that the LAL-SWP is a local branch of the National SWP with aims and purposes identical to those of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/24/67

FROM : SAC, LAS VEGAS (100-263)(C)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C

Remylet to Bureau, 10/24/66.

No evidence or information has been developed in the Las Vegas Division to indicate influence in racial matters by the Communist Party, USA, or any other organizations or individuals.

Las Vegas will afford continual attention to this matter, and in the event positive information is developed, reports will be submitted in compliance with Bureau instructions.

FD205-NY-1/26/67
Comm w/R Bar 2/10
217

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - New York (Info.) (RM)
- 1 - Las Vegas

DMH:alf
(4)

EX-110

REC 31

JAN 26 1967

INT. SEC.



57 FEB 1 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1181699-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 15

Page 23 ~ Duplicate;
Page 24 ~ Duplicate;
Page 25 ~ Duplicate;
Page 50 ~ Duplicate;
Page 58 ~ Duplicate;
Page 161 ~ Duplicate;
Page 163 ~ Duplicate;
Page 164 ~ Duplicate;
Page 165 ~ Duplicate;
Page 166 ~ Duplicate;
Page 262 ~ Duplicate;
Page 264 ~ Duplicate;
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Page 266 ~ Duplicate;
Page 267 ~ Duplicate;

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284 March 15-1967

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/25/67

FROM: SAC, Kansas City (100-11934)

(P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM
(OO: New York)

ReBulet to Albany, dated 8/28/64, and KClet
to Bureau, dated 10/17/66.

No information has been developed in captioned
matter within the Kansas City Division since date of
referenced KClet. Therefore, no report is being submitted.

100-442529-2066
(2) - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (RM)
1 - Kansas City
GAA:B
(5)

EX 101

REC-3

100-442529-2066

JAN 26 1967

INT. SEC.



175
FEB 7

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/25/67

FROM : SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-15125) (P*)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS-C
(OO: NEW YORK)

(CIR)

S. J. [unclear]

Re Pittsburgh letter to the Bureau dated 10/26/66.

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

No information developed.

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

No information developed.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

No information developed.

100-442529-2067
2-Bureau (RM)
2-New York (100-153735) (RM)
1-Pittsburgh

DFW/djk
(5)

EX 101

REC 5

100-442529-2067

10 JAN 26 1967

INT. SEC.

55 FEB 2 1967
133

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/26/67

FROM : SAC, Birmingham (100-5150) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C
(OO: NEW YORK)

Re Birmingham letter to Bureau, 10/26/66.

No information has been received during the period October 1, 1966, through December 31, 1966, of any Communist Party activity in racial matters within the territory of the Birmingham Field Division.

100-924940
②-Bureau (RM)
1-New York (100-153735) (Info) (RM)
1-Birmingham
RSM:ela
(4)

100-442529-2068
REC- 57

JAN 27 1967

ST-123

INTV/SEC.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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REPORTING OFFICE LITTLE ROCK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 1/25/67	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 11/3/66-1/23/67
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY 	TYPED BY ds
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCES:

Report of SA 10/26/66, at Little Rock.
Pittsburgh letter to Atlanta, 11/17/66, and Little Rock letter to Atlanta, 12/7/66, both captioned "VIVIAN LUCILLE CAMPBELL; SM-C."

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ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified confidential because it contains information from informants, the unauthorized disclosure of which could reasonably result in identification of sources of continuing value, compromise their future effectiveness and have an adverse effect on the National Defense interest of the country.

APPROVED 	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 9) - Bureau (100-442529) (RM) 1 - Atlanta (100-6488) (Info.) (RM) 2 - New York (100-153735) (RM) 1 - OSI, Barksdale AFB, La. (RM) 1 - NISO-NO, New Orleans, La. (RM) 2 - MI, Little Rock, Ark. (RM) 2 - Little Rock (1 - 100-3564) (1 - 100-3506)		100-442529 2069 REC-73 30 JAN 27 1967 SHAW NOTATIONS	
Dissemination Record of Attached Report			
Agency	ACSI, OSI, SEC. SER.;		
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How Fwd.	RD		
By	BY: [Signature]		

100-442529-924940
FEB 10 1967

LR 100-3564

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

✓ LR T-1 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

✓ LR T-2 is [REDACTED]

Characterizations of LOUIS
BORTZ, EDWARD BORTZ, ELIZABETH
EDELMAN and ARTHUR EDELMAN

✓ LR T-3 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PG 100-15419

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✓ LR T-4 is [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

✓ LR T-5 is [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

LR 100-3657-10

✓ LR T-6 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

✓ LR T-7 is [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

ME 100-4046

✓ LR T-8 is [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

ME 100-4046

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LEADS:

ATLANTA: (INFORMATION)

Information copy of this report is being designated
for the Atlanta Division since that office is office of origin
in the case captioned "COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STUDENT
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC); INTERNAL SECURITY -C."

LR 100-3564

LITTLE ROCK:

AT LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS:

Will continue to follow this matter in the Little Rock Division and submit quarterly report by May 1, 1967.

- C* -
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 - OSI, Barksdale AFB, La. (RM)
2 - MI, Little Rock, Ark. (RM)
Copy to: 2 - NISO-NO, New Orleans, La. (RM)

Report of: [REDACTED]

Office: LITTLE ROCK

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Date: 1/25/67

Field Office File #: 100-3564

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

VIVIAN LUCILLE CAMPBELL arrested by Police Department, Pittsburgh, Pa., in marijuana raid on 10/29/66. CAMPBELL active in Southern Coordinating Committee to End the War in Viet Nam and W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA. CAMPBELL had four members of District Committee of Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania in her home in Pittsburgh, Pa., in April 1966. At time of arrest, CAMPBELL had in her possession names of MITCHELL ZIMMERMAN and VINCE O'CONNOR, two former SNCC workers in Ark., both of whom have participated in anti-Viet Nam activities.

- P -

DETAILS:

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

No information developed.

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

No information developed.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
Declassification
DATE NOV 1 1977

DECLASSIFIED BY 2650
ON NOV 11 1977

An article appearing in the final edition of "The Pittsburgh Press," dated October 29, 1966, captioned "Juvenile Court Aide Nabbed in Dope Raid," and an article appearing in the final edition of "The Post Gazette," dated October 31, 1966, and captioned "4 Students, Court Worker Held in Raid," both of which are daily newspapers published at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, disclosed that at 12:30 AM, October 29, 1966, the Pittsburgh Police Department arrested RICHARD K. DOVE, aged [redacted] DONNA C. MC COY, aged [redacted] VIVIAN B. APPROX [redacted] L. CAMPBELL, aged [redacted] CURTIS N. PORTER, aged [redacted] and STANLEY B. APPROX [redacted] W. BROWN, aged [redacted] Pennsylvania, where the police confiscated 16 plastic bags containing 20 pounds of marijuana having an estimated market value of \$20,000. These persons were released on bond for appearance in City Court on November 3, 1966. The articles set out that CAMPBELL claimed to be a student at the University of Pittsburgh.

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A dinner and social was held at the home of VIVIAN CAMPBELL, [redacted] Pennsylvania, for the participants in the rally and demonstration held in accordance with the International Days of Protest, and among those in attendance were LOU and ED BORTZ and BETH EDELMAN.

LR T-1, 4/4/66

As of March 11, 1966, LOUIS BORTZ and EDWARD BORTZ were members of the District Committee of the Communist Party in Western Pennsylvania.

LR T-2, 3/11/66

As of March 11, 1966, ELIZABETH EDELMAN, also known as BETH EDELMAN, and her husband, ARTHUR EDELMAN, were leading members of the District Committee of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania.

LR T-2, 3/11/66

LR 100-3564

On April 24, 1966, ED BORTZ and several other persons mailed announcements for a W.E.B. DuBois Club meeting to be held on Friday, April 29, 1966, and one of these announcements was sent to VIVIAN CAMPBELL.

LR T-3, 4/25/66

✓ The W.E.B. DuBois Club is characterized in the appendix attached hereto.

On May 8, 1966, ED BORTZ sent out announcements for the W.E.B. DuBois Club meeting scheduled for Friday, May 13, 1966, and one of these announcements was mailed to VIVIAN CAMPBELL, [REDACTED] Pennsylvania.

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LR T-3, 5/9/66

On Sunday, May 22, 1966, the Pittsburgh Committee to end the war in Viet Nam, assisted by members of W.E.B. DuBois Club of Pittsburgh, and others, conducted a demonstration against the war in Viet Nam and United States involvement, and among the 175 or more people present was VIVIAN CAMPBELL, who stated that she had just returned from a stay in Chicago and would be considering returning to Chicago when the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America convention is held there.

LR T-3, 5/26/66

✓ The W.E.B. DuBois Club of Pittsburgh is characterized in the appendix attached hereto.

VIVIAN CAMPBELL is now residing in and employed at Atlanta, Georgia, address not determined, where she is active in the Southern Coordinating Committee to End the War in Viet Nam. Source described CAMPBELL as a white female, aged [REDACTED] 5'4", 105 to 120

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LR 100-3564

pounds, long black hair, a sloppy dresser and wears horn-rimmed glasses.

LR T-3, 8/2/66

On July 7, 1966, THOMAS A. MC QUAIDE, Pittsburgh Police Department, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, advised IC [redacted] that his records disclosed no information identifiable with CARL CAMPBELL, and no arrests regarding VIVIAN LUCILLE CAMPBELL. MC QUAIDE advised that on March 16, 1966, VIVIAN LUCILLE CAMPBELL, described as white female, born [redacted] 5'2", 110 pounds, residing at [redacted] Pennsylvania, was issued Solicitors Permit [redacted] but instant permit did not indicate its nature.

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On November 4, 1966, THOMAS A. MC QUAIDE, Pittsburgh Police Department, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, advised IC [redacted] that his arrest number [redacted] disclosed that VIVIAN LUCILLE CAMPBELL, described as a white female, born [redacted] Pennsylvania, 5'2½", 108 pounds, medium build, black hair, brown eyes, occupation - student, pierced ears, wears glasses, was arrested at [redacted] Pennsylvania, October 29, 1966, with four others and was charged with VDD and CA. On November 3, 1966, she was afforded a hearing and held for a grand jury.

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On November 3, 1966, Lieutenant THOMAS CUNNINGHAM, Pittsburgh Police Department, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, advised that VIVIAN CAMPBELL and the other named persons appeared in City Court on November 3, 1966, and were bound over for grand jury. Lieutenant CUNNINGHAM furnished Xerox copies of the contents of a notebook confiscated from CAMPBELL at the time of her arrest. Included in the items furnished were the following:

"FR 5-9081; [redacted]

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"MITCHELL ZIMMERMAN Arkansas for Peace Little Rock, Box 4204, FR 5-9081, [redacted]

"Pine Bluff, VINCE O'CONNER, [redacted]
[redacted]

LR 100-3564

Concerning the above-mentioned telephone numbers and individuals, the following is set forth:

FR 5-9081

The 1966 Little Rock City Telephone Directory reveals that FR 5-9081 is the telephone number of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 700 West 9th Street, Little Rock, Arkansas.

MITCHELL ZIMMERMAN AND ARKANSANS FOR PEACE
IN VIET NAM

The "Arkansas Gazette," a Little Rock daily newspaper, carried an article in the February 14, 1966, edition captioned "LRU Speakers Differ on Who's Aggressor In the Vietnam War." This article reported the result of a "teach-in" held at Little Rock University on February 12, 1966. The article states that the anti-Vietnam war standpoint was presented by CHRIS HOBSON, a graduate student at the University of Chicago and a writer for the Students for a Democratic Society, and MITCHELL ZIMMERMAN, a Princeton University graduate student on leave to serve as Research Director of the SNCC. ZIMMERMAN is quoted in this article as follows:

"ZIMMERMAN said the United States should withdraw from Vietnam. 'We are fighting what is recognized as being a tragic, costly war,' he said. He said the South Vietnamese regime had violated the Geneva Accord by refusing to have popular elections in 1956 because it knew that HO CHI MINH, president of North Vietnam, would win. ZIMMERMAN said the Geneva Conference divided Vietnam into north and south zones with popular elections scheduled in 1956.

"ZIMMERMAN said the future of Southeast Asia does not depend on whether South Vietnam falls or is saved from communism. 'It depends on internal situations in the other nations,' he said. ZIMMERMAN said the leaders of other Southeast Asian countries must meet responsibilities to the people."

LR 100-3564

Some of the individuals who organized and participated in the February 12, 1966, demonstration against the war in Viet Nam at McArthur Park in Little Rock, Arkansas, sponsored by the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Viet Nam, held an organizational meeting about two weeks after this demonstration at the Wesley Foundation at 3204 South Taylor, a Methodist Church-sponsored student center located near Little Rock University. Among those present was MITCHELL ZIMMERMAN, a SNCC field worker.

The purpose of this meeting was to establish an organization and to decide what direction future activities of the organization would take. Considerable discussion was had concerning the possibility of additional marches and demonstrations, but it was eventually decided that there would be no more marches or demonstrations at this time. It was decided that initial efforts would be directed to prepare an advertisement to place in the Little Rock newspaper protesting the war in Viet Nam. Those present were advised that a proposed ad would be prepared and everyone would be notified of the time of the next meeting. It was decided that the organization would call themselves "Arkansans for Peace in Vietnam."

Those who attended the above meeting received in the mail on June 4, 1966, a form letter advising that a meeting would be held on June 5, 1966, at the Wesley Foundation. Enclosed with the announcement were three pages of a mimeographed form setting forth the proposed ad to be placed in the "Arkansas Gazette."

LR T-4, 6/4/66

✓ A characterization of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Viet Nam is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

N.J.

A meeting of the Arkansans for Peace in Viet Nam was held at the Wesley Foundation on June 5, 1966. One of those attending the meeting was MITCHELL ZIMMERMAN, a SNCC field worker who appeared to be in charge of the meeting. ZIMMERMAN stated he was not the spokesman and wanted someone else to take the lead at the next meeting. ZIMMERMAN stated during the meeting that he wants to have seminars for education studies

Ark.

LR 100-3564

for members and friends who agree with their position on the war in Viet Nam.

LR T-4, 6/6/66

On October 17, 1966, ~~HOWARD HIMMELBAUM~~, Field ARK. Secretary for SNCC, advised that MITCHELL ZIMMERMAN had returned to Princeton University where he will be engaged in writing a thesis for his doctor's degree.

The Arkansans for Peace in Vietnam have not held any meetings for the past several months and this is no longer considered an organization. The individuals involved continue to maintain their associations; however, it is not believed that the organization will function again as an organization. The organization was not successful in obtaining sufficient funds to run the proposed advertisement in the "Arkansas Gazette" protesting the Viet Nam war.

LR T-5, 9/15/66

VINCENT O'CONNOR

The National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Viet Nam (NCCEWV) held a conference at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, from June 10 to 16, 1966. The purpose of the conference was to hold training sessions for the summer organizing projects of the NCCEWV. Among those listed as being in attendance at a conference held on June 11, 1966, in this connection is VINCENT O'CONNOR, SNCC, Arkansas.

LR T-6, 6/16/66

The United States Attorney, San Francisco, California, by letter dated August 9, 1966, requested investigation concerning O'CONNOR who failed to report for civilian work as ordered by his Local Draft Board.

On August 12, 1966, MARY SLIFER, Clerk, Local Board 40, San Francisco, California, advised that O'CONNOR, in correspondence with the Local Board, has indicated he is a "non cooperator" in regard to the "UMTS Act." He also states in his correspondence to the Local Board that he has commitments to the SNCC in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, "which he doesn't see himself terminating as far into the future as he is able to plan."

VINCENT JOSEPH O'CONNOR was interviewed by SA [redacted] on September 2, 1966, Pine Bluff, Arkansas, at which time he advised he had received the orders from the Draft Board. He stated he did not report because he is not cooperative with the Selective Service Act. He stated he does not feel he is obliged to serve in the Armed Forces and does not feel he is obliged to serve otherwise. He stated he does not feel that Local Board 40, San Francisco, has a right to say where he would serve. He stated he felt that what he was presently doing was in the long range of the best interest to the country, and he did not feel that the Local Board had a right to say where he was to serve or to instruct him as to what was to the best interest of the country. O'CONNOR advised he is no longer a field representative or employed in any way or affiliated with the SNCC. He stated he is doing the same type work as he has been doing for the last fourteen months in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, but is not an employee of any particular organization. He advised he is doing work such as getting people registered to vote, getting people to run for school board offices, and dealing with different community problems.

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VINCENT O'CONNOR

The Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) held a conference at Memphis, Tennessee, on November 25, 26 and 27, 1966. One of the individuals present at the Saturday, November 26, 1966, session was VINCENT O'CONNOR of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, a white male, about 6' tall, medium build, with thick glasses. He was an intellectual beatnik, wore old clothes and work boots. He said he used to be a conscientious objector but is now willing to go into the army. He was soft-spoken and apparently religiously motivated, but was radical in his approach.

VINCENT O'CONNOR of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, was one of the key leaders in the workshop held on November 25, 1966, on the draft and opposition to Universal Military Training. O'CONNOR, who inferred he had previously studied for the priesthood, upheld religious arguments in opposing military service.

LR T-7, 11/28/66

LR 100-3564

✓ A characterization of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

At the above-mentioned SSOC conference held on November 25-27, 1966, at Memphis, Tennessee, one of those in attendance was a white male of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, aged 25, 6'3", 180 pounds, blond hair, glasses, who said he had been kicked out of the SNCC and is mad at the SNCC.

LR T-8, 11/29/66

A P P E N D I X

NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO END THE
WAR IN VIETNAM (NCCEWV)

A source stated on August 20, 1966, that the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NCCEWV) had its origin in August 1965, when some participants in the March on Washington of August 7, 1965, decided to establish a center to co-ordinate all anti-Vietnam war activities in the United States. A Steering Committee was formed and at a National Convention, held in Washington, D. C., November 24-28, 1965, the NCCEWV was formally organized and a constitution approved. The Steering Committee included delegates from the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

✓ Characterizations of the YSA and DCA are attached.

A second source stated on January 14, 1966, that at the first meeting of the Steering Committee of the NCCEWV, held at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, January 8 and 9, 1966, the committee included several members of both the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Communist Party.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The first source further stated that a struggle for influence over the NCCEWV at its founding had taken place between the DCA and the YSA, with the DCA and its supporters winning out to become one of the major forces in the NCCEWV.

The NCCEWV has, since its formation, been headed by FRANK EMSPAK and located, since January 1966, at 420 West Washington Avenue, Madison, Wisconsin.

Records of the Registrar's Office, University of Wisconsin (UW), Madison, Wisconsin, in April 1964, showed that FRANK EMSPAK, born [redacted] at New York City, whose father was JULIUS EMSPAK, entered that university September 11, 1961.

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A P P E N D I X

The April 27, 1962, issue of "The Milwaukee Journal," a Milwaukee, Wisconsin, daily newspaper, reports that JULIUS EMSPAK, aged 57, nationally prominent labor figure, who was once identified as a communist, died on April 26, 1962.

During the Fall of 1964, Special Agents of the FBI observed FRANK EMSPAK in attendance at meetings of the Madison chapter of the DCA.

"The Milwaukee Journal" in its edition of July 1, 1965, characterized FRANK EMSPAK as President of the Wisconsin Socialist Club (WSC).

✓ A characterization of the WSC is attached.

The NCCEWV issues a newsletter, "Peace and Freedom News," distributes material attacking U. S. policy in Vietnam and coordinates demonstrations and protests against the Vietnam war in the United States and abroad.

A P P E N D I X

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

On November 1, 1966, a first source advised that the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), with headquarters at 1703 Portland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, was formed on the weekend of April 3-5, 1964, to stimulate activity of southern student groups in areas of civil rights, peace, academic freedom, civil liberties, capital punishment and unemployment. Originally, it was to be, in effect, the white counterpart of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and it has agreed to and has worked with similar interested groups, SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and it has become a fraternal affiliate of the SDS.

Beginning in the Fall of 1966, SSOC became a membership organization and embarked on a campaign to form local chapters on various college campuses throughout the South.

SSOC publishes a monthly publication, "New South Student," which, according to source, has increasingly defended and espoused the pro-Communist and anti-United States position with particular emphasis on attacking United States policy in Viet Nam.

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is described as follows:

Phillip Abbott Luce, self-admitted national leader of the "new left" until his split with it in 1965, in his book "The New Left," copyright 1966, published by David McKay Company, Inc., New York, New York, comments about the SDS as follows:

Luce describes SDS as the student arm of the League for Industrial Democracy, formed in 1960, and says it was originally opposed to the totalitarianism of Communism and the programs of the Communist Party, USA, (CP, USA). Luce said that the "old left newspaper," the "National Guardian," in its issue of January 9, 1965, described the SDS as "the

A P P E N D I X

largest student organization on the left." Luce adds: "SDS has become more and more radical and has espoused the united-front policy of joining with the myriad of young Communist groups in demonstrations.... SDS has carried its program of the united-front to such an extent that it now feels it must involve itself directly with the young Communists in a variety of activities to oppose the war in Viet Nam. . . . SDS shelved its Communist exclusion clause in its constitution and threw open its membership to young Communists." He concludes: "The young Communists are, of course, elated at the ultra-left swing of the SDS and are vying to attempt to bring it under their individual control."

A P P E N D I X

WISCONSIN SOCIALIST CLUB

On December 10, 1957, source one described the Wisconsin Socialist Club (WSC) as then a duly registered and authorized student campus organization at the University of Wisconsin (UW), with a charter membership of 21, including MATTHEW CHAPPERON and RONALD RADOSH, who prior to the dissolution of the Labor Youth League (LYL) were publicly known as officers of the UW chapter of the LYL. On November 30, 1960, source two identified MATTHEW CHAPPERON as then a member of the State Committee of the Communist Party of Wisconsin (CPW).

On June 23, 1958, source three described the WSC as an organization founded primarily on principles closely allied with those of English socialists, with many of its members genuine socialists, but source observed there existed a pro-Marxist element in the club, including CHAPPERON and RADOSH, which element had taken the lead in policy-making functions of the WSC. On September 20, 1960, this source reported that RADOSH and CHAPPERON had been elected president and secretary respectively of the WSC for the 1960-1961 school year.

The November 16, 1963, issue of "The Daily Cardinal," student organ at the UW, identified JAMES DOUGLAS MOORE as the then chairman of the WSC. MOORE, according to source four, also during 1964 became the Midwest coordinator of a movement to form a national Marxist youth organization. During April 1964, source four reported that MOORE had recently been recruited into the CP. This source also identified WALTER ELLIOT GROSS as collaborating with MOORE in the founding of a new Marxist youth organization, and in February 1964, source five identified GROSS as corresponding secretary of the WSC.

FRANK EMSPAK and CHRIS HORTON were president and vice president for the first semester of the 1964-1965 school year, and, when EMSPAK graduated February 1, 1965, HORTON held both positions for the remainder of the second semester. EMSPAK and HORTON were observed by Special Agents of the FBI in attendance at meetings of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) during 1964, an organization publicly described as communist dominated by FBI Director J. EDGAR HOOVER.

LR 100-3564

A P P E N D I X

EMSPAK is the son of JULIUS EMSPAK, now deceased but once nationally prominently known as a Communist labor leader. HORTON was identified by source six as recruited into the CP on his 19th birthday.

Issues of "The Daily Cardinal" during the 1964-1965 school year reflected that the WSC continued to function as a student organization at the UW, periodically sponsoring off-campus speakers, including HENRY WINSTON and FRED BLAIR, who have been identified by source seven as vice chairman of the CP, USA and chairman of the CPW respectively.

The LYL is an organization which has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On December 9, 1965, source eight advised that the WSC did not register as a student organization at the UW, Madison, during the Fall of 1965, and, as of October 15, 1965, was considered as being inactive at the UW.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

LR 100-3564

A P P E N D I X

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist," (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the founding declaration of YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

A source advised on May 23, 1966, that the original YSA was an organization formed during October 1957, in New York City by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

The source further advised on May 23, 1966, that the YSA is dominated and controlled on a national basis by the SWP through having SWP members comprise exclusively the National Executive Committee (NEC). The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section for the SWP and the main source of new SWP members.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

215 U. S. Post Office Building
P. O. Box 1111
Little Rock, Arkansas 72203
January 25, 1967

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Report of Special Agent [REDACTED]
dated January 25, 1967, at Little Rock,
Arkansas

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All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

Contact with LR T-4 has not been sufficient to judge his reliability.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE ST. LOUIS	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 1/27/67	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/20 - 25/67
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY WALTER A. HILGENDORF	TYPED BY jtc
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA WALTER A. HILGENDORF dated 10/28/66 at St. Louis.

STATUS:

- P* -

LEADS:

ST. LOUIS DIVISION

AT ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

Will furnish a report by 5/1/67.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified confidential because it contains information from current security informants and the unauthorized disclosure of data contained therein might tend to reveal their identities and compromise their future effectiveness, thereby affecting adversely the national defense. Examples of this are SL T-1 through SL T-5.

APPROVED <i>Taz</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 9 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM) 2 - New York (RM) 1 - NISO, Chicago (RM) 2 - 12D, OSI, CAFB, Illinois (RM) 1 - 113th INTC Group Hdqrs., Chicago (RM) 1 - Region III, 113th INTC Group, St. Louis (RM) 2 - St. Louis (100-19352)		100-442529-2070 13 JAN 30 1967 REC-3 ST-109	
COPIES DESTROYED 209 DEC 1970		NOTATIONS <i>103/137</i>	
AGENCY REQUEST RECD. DATE FWD HOW FWD BY		ACSI, ONE OSI, SAC, SER. 12D, OSI, CAFB, ILL. 113th INTC Group Region III, 113th INTC Group St. Louis St. Louis	
FEB 23 1967		U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16-70324-1	

SL 100-19352

INFORMANTS:

<u>Identity</u>	<u>Location</u>
✓ SL T-1 is []	[] []
✓ SL T-2 is []	[]
✓ SL T-3 is []	[]
✓ SL T-4 is []	[]
✓ SL T-5 is []	[]

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
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1 - 113th INTC Group Headquarters, Chicago (RM)
1 - Region III, 113th INTC Group, St. Louis (RM)

Report of: SA WALTER A. HILGENDORF
Date: January 27, 1967

Office: ST. LOUIS

Field Office File No.: SL 100-19352

Bureau File No.: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

✓ CP members participated in picketing St. Louis PD after killing of Negro prisoner. ✓ Also participated in picketing Supreme Management Corp. for alleged discrimination against Negro family. ✓ CP Draft Program emphasizes mass work in CORE, NAACP and ACTION. ✓ CP Chairman asserted emphasis should be placed on CORE because it has the leadership and political outlook "to meet the demands of the future". ✓ CP participated in unsuccessful effort to elect a "progressive slate", St. Louis Branch NAACP, 12/66.

- P* -

DETAILS: AT ST. LOUIS, MISSOURII. COMMUNIST STRATEGYA. Communist Party (CP)

At a meeting of the State Committee CP, October 15, 1966, the members agreed that a proposed Draft Program for

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

Group 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

SL

100-19352

action by the CP should emphasize mass work in the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and ACTION. The latter organization consists of a dissident group which has split off from the St. Louis Chapter of CORE because they do not believe it sufficiently militant.

(SL T-1 October 20, 1966)

The proposed Draft Program was made available to CP groups for discussion. One CP group meeting in early November, 1966, approved a section of the Draft which calls for "an end of segregation and Jim Crow".

(SL T-2 November 14, 1966)

At a meeting of State officers, Missouri District CP, in early December, 1966, there was a discussion of various civil rights organizations. HERSHEL J. WALKER, Chairman of the Missouri District CP, was critical of the NAACP. He said it is "not in the swing of things" largely due to its National officers; furthermore, not much change can be anticipated. He said that any local branch which would try to alter national policies would be expelled. WALKER went on to say that CORE appears to be an organization with the kind of leadership and political outlook which will "meet the demands of the future". WALKER observed that the National CP leaders feel the same way about CORE. He asserted that he believes the CP locally can work with the leadership of the St. Louis Chapter.

WALKER stated a forum was planned in connection with Negro History Week and it was hoped it would be sponsored by CORE, ACTION, and the St. Louis Freedom of the Press Committee (SLFPC). He said the program would include a debate on "Black Power". WALKER assigned a CP member to join CORE and become active in an effort to influence this organization. He said any CP member, who desired to join CORE, could do so.

(SL T-1 December 15, 1966)

✓ SLFPC is characterized in the attached appendix.

SL

100-19352

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

A. Communist Party

On September 24, 1966, RUSSELL HAYES, a Negro, was shot and killed by an officer of the St. Louis Police Department while handcuffed. Demonstrations in the form of picketing were begun shortly thereafter under the primary sponsorship of the St. Louis Chapter of CORE. However, members of ACTION also participated. HERSHEL J. WALKER advised a local CP leader he had been participating in the picketing and was worried the situation might get out of hand because the Negro community is very disturbed. WALKER said persons in charge of the picketing proved themselves either inexperienced or unaware of the dire consequences of unruly action. He further said that youths participating in the picketing are either school dropouts or trouble makers, who are specifically attempting to foment incidents. WALKER said he planned to get responsible people to take part in the picketing and urged the other CP leader to do likewise.

(SL T-1 October 13, 1966)

WALKER stated he and another CP member were helping to picket the Supreme Management Corporation, 6221 Delmar Avenue, in protest over its alleged discrimination against a Negro family whose application for an apartment in Berkeley was rejected. The corporation was accused of discriminating against Negroes in the rental of property. The picket line was sponsored by The Greater St. Louis Committee for Freedom of Residence.

(SL T-3 October 3, 1966)

During early October, 1966, HERSHEL J. WALKER commented he had been spending all of his spare time in the picketing of the Supreme Management Corporation.

(SL T-4 October 12, 1966)

In mid-October, 1966, WALKER boasted that the job of running the picket line at the Supreme Management Corporation had been "unofficially" left up to him. He said there was some

SL

100-19352

danger of the picket line being discontinued but he had called friends and recruited them. He further said that he discussed the matter with RUTH/PORTER, head of The Greater St. Louis Committee for Freedom of Residence, and it was decided not to continue the picket line daily but rather operate it only on weekends. He said it was further decided to picket the home of the President of Supreme Management Corporation and this had been done on one occasion. 71

(SL T-4 October 26, 1966)

WALKER continued to participate in picketing Supreme Management Corporation in November, 1966. In addition to the company offices and residence of the owner, picketing was also conducted of a restaurant belonging to the owner of Supreme Management Corporation.

(SL T-4 November 30, 1966)

Members of the CP actively participated in promoting a so-called "progressive slate" which ran in the December 5, 1966 election of the St. Louis Chapter NAACP. A veteran CP member was one of the candidates on this slate and CP members were encouraged to attend the meeting at which the election was held and cast their votes. The effort was unsuccessful and no one on the slate won.

(SL T-3 December 12, 1966)

SLFPC sponsored a panel forum discussion at the residence of a member on December 18, 1966. Subject of the forum was "not Black Power, not White Power but Peoples Power". PERCY GREEN, Chairman of ACTION, was scheduled to attend and be one of the participants but he did not appear. HERSHEL J. WALKER discussed "Black Power" saying this is only a slogan and should be viewed in this light. He acknowledged it had caused considerable concern among white people. LORETTA WAXMAN, veteran CP member, discussed "White Power" saying it is concentrated in the hands of a few; that these individuals control the political arena and means of production. WILLIAM E. DAVIS, Chairman of the CP Industrial Area and Educational

SL

100-19352

Director of the Missouri District CP, discussed "Peoples Power" and concluded that for it to be effective there must be a consolidation of Negroes, whites and labor.

(SL T-2 December 20, 1966)

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND
OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

ORVILLE T. LEACH, a veteran CP member, was assigned to work in ACTION by the CP. He has served as Chairman of the so-called Community Relations Committee of this organization for some time. Its function is to probe alleged cases of police brutality. LEACH has complained that victims in such cases frequently refuse to discuss the matter with him and he believes it is because he is white. LEACH also has complained to CP leaders that he is spending a good deal of time in this endeavor and it has not been productive.

(SL T-1 October 4, 1966)

The CP has no appreciable influence in the St. Louis Chapter of CORE or the St. Louis Chapter of the NAACP.

(SL T-1 November 25, 1966)

SL 100-19352

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

1

A-P-P-E-N-D-I-X

ST. LOUIS FREEDOM OF THE PRESS COMMITTEE

On October 29, 1951, a source advised that the Freedom of the Press Committee was organized in St. Louis in the fall of 1951 for the purpose of increasing the circulation of "The Worker" and the "Daily Worker".

On March 8, 1954, Reverend OBADIAH JONES, who was a witness for the Government in the St. Louis Smith Act trial in March, 1954, advised that the principal activities of the Communist Party in the St. Louis area at that time were concentrated in various front organizations of which the Freedom of the Press Committee was one.

In May, 1966, a second source advised that the Freedom of the Press Committee is one of the front organizations in the St. Louis area in which the activity of the Communist Party is concentrated; that the Committee's purpose continues to be distribution of "The Worker"; and that the organization has been continuously under the complete control and domination of the Communist Party in the St. Louis, Missouri area since he became acquainted with it in 1955.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
St. Louis, Missouri

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

January 27, 1967

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA WALTER A. HILGENDORF, dated January 27, 1967, at St. Louis.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Date 2/9/67

To:

☒ Director (RM)

FILE # BU 100-442529

SL 100-19352

Att.: _____

☐ SAC _____ Title Communist Influence

☐ ASAC _____ in Racial Matters

☐ Supv. _____

☐ Agent _____

☐ SE _____

☐ IC _____

☐ CC _____

☐ Steno _____

☐ Clerk _____

ACTION DESIRED

- | | |
|--|--|
| ☐ Acknowledge | ☐ Open Case |
| ☐ Assign _____ Reassign _____ | ☐ Prepare lead cards |
| ☐ Bring file | ☐ Prepare tickler |
| ☐ Call me | ☐ Recharge serials |
| ☐ Correct | ☐ Return assignment card |
| ☐ Deadline _____ | ☐ Return file |
| ☐ Deadline passed | ☐ Return serials |
| ☐ Delinquent | ☐ Search and return |
| ☐ Discontinue | ☐ See me |
| ☐ Expedite | ☐ Send Serials _____ |
| ☐ File | to _____ |
| ☐ For information | ☐ Submit new info get out |
| ☐ Initial & return | ☐ Submit report |
| ☐ Leads need attention | ☐ Type |
| ☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken. | |

Re report SA WALTER A. HILGENDORF, 1/27/67,
and Bureau routing slip, 2/6/67.

SL T-5 on Page B* is identical with SL T-3.
Please correct Bureau copies. Also, make
appropriate correction on Page 4 of re report.
St. Louis copies corrected.

RM

SAC THOMAS J. GEARTY

____ See reverse side

Office ST. LOUIS

D. B. Russell
INT. SEC.
NO ACTION
CORRECTION MADE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM : ASAC, DALLAS (100-11053) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C
OO - NEW YORK

DATE: 1/25/67

Rerep of SA W. JAMES WOOD, Dallas, 11/1/66; also Manual of Instructions, III, 87C, pages 12a-12c.

The Dallas Office has no positive information to report for the past quarter. There is no information indicating any recent communist influence in racial matters within the Dallas Division. An investigative report covering the past quarter, therefore, is not being submitted.

For the information of the Bureau and New York, the only Communist Party (CP) member who has held membership in or has been active in the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), at Dallas since August, 1964 (when CIRM program was instituted), has been JOE LANDIN. That information was reported in reports each quarter, along with information that he exercised no influence in NAACP or CORE activities. [REDACTED]

b7D

The CORE Chapter at Dallas is now inactive. There has been no change in regard to the NAACP or this informant's status since submission of rerep.

Hereafter the Dallas Office does not contemplate submitting reports for dissemination under instant caption where the sole information to report is activity of a Bureau informant who is not exercising any communist influence in racial matters.

Reports will be submitted in the future if and when any positive information, however limited, is received indicating any racial matters are being influenced by communists (including any type of subversive influence).

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
2 - Dallas
EDK:jeg
(6)

REC 18

100-442529-2071
JAN 27 1967

INT. SEC.



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CLEVELAND	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 1/26/67	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/13/67 - 1/20/67
TITLE OF CASE <u>COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS</u>		REPORT MADE BY SA ROBERT E. KEHRES	TYPED BY jsj
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

Handwritten notes: 10. [Signature] 1/26/67

REFERENCES

Report of SA ROBERT E. KEHRES, 10/21/66, at Cleveland.

- P* -

LEADS

CLEVELAND:

AT CLEVELAND, OHIO

Will follow and report Communist activities in the Cleveland area as they pertain to racial matters.

CINCINNATI (INFO)

One copy of this report is designated for the Cincinnati office since portions of the Ohio District Communist

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No, Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

SEE COVER PAGE "B" FOR COPIES

9 - Bureau (100-442529)

100-442529-2072 REC-44

16 JAN 30 1967

ST-105

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, CNI, OSI, SEC. SER.;
Request Recd.	Request Recd. CRD, RAO
Date Fwd.	DATE: 1967/2/6/67
How Fwd.	How Fwd. RIS
By	By: [Signature]

Notations

Handwritten: [Signature]

1cc rpt 724900

CV 100-27056

COPIES:

- ⑨ - Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
- 1 - G-2, Headquarters, 2nd U.S. Army,
Fort George G. Meade, Maryland (RM)
- 1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson AFB,
Dayton, Ohio (RM)
- 2 - NIS, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (RM)
- 1 - Cincinnati (100-14539) (RM) (Info)
- 1 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
- 3 - Cleveland (100-27056)

Party (CP), whose activities are pertinent to this investigation, are in the territory of the Cincinnati office.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

Location in File

✓ CV T-1 is

b3
b6
b7C
b7D
b7E

✓ CV T-2 is

Used to identify ERIC
REINTHALER, JOHN CLOUD

CV T-3 is

100-27056

(by request)

CV T-4 is

100-26449-227

By request

CV T-5 is

Used to identify PHILIP BART

CV T-6 is

Used to identify HENRY
CRAWFORD

CV 100-27056

Identity of Source

Location in File

CV T-7 is

Used to identify MORRIS JAFFA

b7D

CV T-8 is

Used to identify BRIAN SCANLAN

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified ~~confidential~~ since it contains information from CV T-1, CV T-2, etc., which could result in their identification. They are informants of continuing value and this would compromise their future effectiveness.

- C* -
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

- 1 - G-2, Headquarters, 2nd U.S. Army,
Ft. George G. Meade, Maryland (RM)
- 1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson AFB,
Dayton, Ohio (RM)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

Copy to: 2 - NIS, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (RM)

Report of: SA ROBERT E. KEHRES
Date: 1/26/67

Office: CLEVELAND, OHIO

Field Office File #: (100-27056)

Bureau File #: (100-442529)

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

FOR THE PERIOD OCTOBER 16, 1966 THROUGH JANUARY 15, 1967

✓CP wants its Negro members to contact CORE and NAACP in effort to establish February as a Negro History Month. ✓Party states CP members must work into Negro organizations. ✓Two SWP members are active in Cleveland CORE, but were instructed by SWP not to accept any official position in CORE. ✓MORRIS JAFFA is a member of Cleveland NAACP Executive Committee. ✓Although PHILIP BART has expressed an interest in DONALD BEAN, Head of Cleveland CORE, BEAN states he has no interest in BART unless CP wants to give some financial support to CORE.

- P* -

DETAILS:~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (U)

GROUP 1 (U)
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

A. COMMUNIST PARTY USA

1. Local Communist Party (CP) Plans and Strategy

CV T-1 advised on October 31, 1966, that PHILIP BART suggested on October 27, 1966, that instead of there being a Negro History Week during February, 1967, an effort should be made to get the entire month of February to be known as Negro History Month. BART wants a number of Negro CP members in Cleveland to contact the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) and other organizations, both Negro and white, to see if they cannot get something started along this line.

S.I.
PHILIP BART

CV T-5 advised on November 17, 1966, that BART is the new secretary of the Ohio CP, as announced at an Ohio State CP Committee meeting held in Cleveland, Ohio, on November 13, 1966.

CV T-1 advised on October 31, 1966, that during discussions with HENRY CRAWFORD on October 27, 1966, CRAWFORD pointed out that it has always been hard to recruit Negroes into the CP, but that "since black power came along it is even harder to recruit the Negroes". CRAWFORD said that CP members will have to work into Negro organizations and into Labor Unions, but this will have to be accomplished without being identified as a Communist for as soon "as you are identified as being a Communist or connected with the CP, they will find a way to get rid of you". CRAWFORD said the CP is really trying to do all it can to help the Negro in the Civil Rights Movement.

S.I.
HENRY CRAWFORD

CV T-6 advised on June 7, 1966, that HENRY CRAWFORD attended the Ohio State CP Convention held

in Cleveland, Ohio, on June 4-5, 1966, and during this Convention he was elected a member of the Ohio CP State Committee and also an alternate delegate to the CPUSA National Convention to be held in New York City in June, 1966.

CV T-1 advised on November 14, 1966, that during a discussion with PHILIP BART on November 9, 1966, concerning ways and means to best further Communism in the United States, BART stated that CP members should make a special effort to work within the Negro struggles since the Negroes are the most depressed people.

HEAD OF CLEVELAND BRANCH - CONGRESS ON RACIAL EQUALITY

CV T-1 advised on December 2, 1966, that on November 30, 1966, PHILIP BART advised that he recently had several long talks with DONALD BEAN, who now heads CORE in Cleveland and that BART considers BEAN to be a good man. BART wants the CP to become active in organizations like CORE and he asked one of the Negro CP members to contact BEAN with this in mind. BART advised this member that at the time of contacting BEAN, he should tell BEAN that he, BART, had recommended this contact. BART said that BEAN knows, "who I am and what I am". OHIO

(See section 3 where it is reported that BEAN has no interest in seeing BART unless BART wants to give financial help to CORE.)

B. SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)

The SWP has been cited by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order #10450.

1. Local SWP Plans and Strategy

CV T-2 advised on November 28, 1966, that ERIC REINTHALER and JOHN CLOUD have received permission from the SWP in Cleveland to attend CORE meetings, but have been instructed not to accept any office or official position in CORE. CV T-2 stated that several years ago several SWP

members were active in CORE, and both REINTHALER and CLOUD held offices in CORE at the same time. However, the persons then in charge of CORE in Cleveland made it clear that they did not want SWP help or support, and carried out a successful program to defeat SWP supported candidates in an election. CV T-2 stated that as a result, SWP members dropped out of CORE and that REINTHALER and CLOUD have just recently again started attending CORE meetings. CV T-2 stated that the present CORE group does not object to these SWP members taking a part in the CORE meeting, even though they are fully aware of REINTHALER's position in the SWP. They are willing to accept REINTHALER's help because he is a tireless worker, an excellent fund raiser and a good promoter of activities.

ERIC REINTHALER

CV T-2 advised on November 28, 1966, that REINTHALER is currently organizer of the SWP in Cleveland.

JOHN CLOUD

CV T-2 advised on November 28, 1966, that ~~JOHN CLOUD~~ is currently an active member of the SWP in Cleveland. 0410

CLEVELAND BRANCH - SOCIALIST

WORKERS PARTY

II. NO PERTINENT DEMONSTRATIONS
REPORTED DURING THE PERIOD
OF THIS REPORT

ACTIVE IN CONGRESS ON RACIAL EQUALITY

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A. NAACP

The Cleveland "Plain Dealer", a local newspaper of general circulation, issue of December 27, 1966, contained an article stating that new officers for the Cleveland NAACP had been elected to serve for the period January 3, 1967 through

December 31, 1968. Among those listed as being elected to office were the presiding officers and the members of the Executive Committee, both totaling 55 persons. Among these 55 persons was MORRIS JAFFA, elected a member of the National Executive Committee. The article stated that the total members in the Cleveland NAACP for the year 1966 was reported to be 14,000 and an effort is being made to increase the membership.

~~WILLIAM J. SLADE~~, Administrative Assistant, Cleveland NAACP Chapter, advised on January 17, 1967, that only approximately 12,000 members have paid their dues in the Cleveland NAACP for the next year. OHIO
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

MORRIS JAFFA

ISADORE BAKST, a self-admitted former member of the Ohio CP, advised on December 12, 1949, that ~~MORRIS JAFFA~~ was a member of the CP prior to 1945.

CV T-7 advised on March 9, 1964, that JAFFA was at that time a subscriber to "The Worker". OHIO
1964

"THE WORKER"

MEMBER-NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE-CLEVELAND CHAPTER-NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

B. CORE

CV T-3 noted on September 23, 1966, that in the election of the Cleveland CORE officers on September 20, 1966, only 32 persons participated in the election; further that about 15 to 20 persons generally attend CORE meetings in Cleveland.

As set forth in Section I "B", of this report, under the heading "SWP", CV T-2 advised on November 28, 1966, that ERIC REINTHALER and JOHN CLOUD are currently active in CORE, and the present CORE group does not object to these SWP members taking a part in CORE meetings, even though they are fully aware of REINTHALER's position in the SWP. They are willing to accept REINTHALER's help because he is a tireless worker, an excellent fund raiser and a good promoter of activities.

CV 100-27056

CV T-2 further advised on November 28, 1966, that DONALD BEAN recently stated that PHILIP BART, who is known to BEAN to be an officer in the Ohio CP, has been making efforts recently to get in touch with BEAN and that BEAN is quite annoyed at this. BEAN has stated that he does not know what BART wants and that he has no interest in what BART might want to say to him unless BART is planning to give CORE some financial support.

C. THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

OFFICER On December 9, 1966, CV T-4 identified the current ~~STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE AT WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY~~ officers of the friends of SNCC at Western Reserve University (WRU), one of these officers being BRIAN SCANLAN.

BRIAN SCANLAN

ATTENDED - CV T-8 advised on January 9, 1967, that a meeting of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) was held in Cleveland, Ohio, on January 7, 1967, with ~~BRIAN SCANLAN~~ being present. OHIO

✓ A characterization of the YSA is contained in the appendix hereto.

CV T-5 advised on October 27, 1966, that on October 9, 1966, a SWP meeting was held at the SWP Headquarters in Cleveland with a ~~NANCY CASE~~ being present. She was identified as a ~~spokesman for SNCC~~ and told the audience that SNCC will include white people in its program and that SNCC is helping Negroes win equality, win jobs, obtain better housing, obtain decent living conditions and to attend good schools. OHIO

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The "Cleveland Press", a newspaper of general circulation in Cleveland, Ohio, issue of October 19, 1966, identified NANCY CASE as being a student at WRU.

ATTENDED MEETING - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Cleveland, Ohio

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-27056

January 26, 1967

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference is made to the report of
SA ROBERT E. KEHRES, dated
and captioned as above, at
Cleveland, Ohio

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/27/67

FROM : SAC, TAMPA (100-805)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
IS-C
(OO:NY)

Tampa has no information to report for the quarter
ending 1/31/67.

112
100-442529-2073
2-Bureau (RM)
1-New York (100-153735) (RM)
1-Tampa
HKR:db
(4)

REC-34

EX-115

100-442529-2073

JAN 30 1967

~~100-442529-2073~~

57 FEB 3 1967



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM : *pcy* SAC, OMAHA (100-6837) (RUC)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
IS - R

DATE: 1/27/67

Shapiro

Re Omaha letter to the Bureau 11/4/66.

Q

Periodic contact and regular liaison association with LUTHER GLANTON, Municipal Judge, Des Moines, Iowa, who has provided information in captioned matter in the past, has continued to reveal no evidence of any communist influence in racial organizations in Des Moines, Iowa.

100-924970

② - Bureau (RM)
1 - Omaha
RCM:cjw
(3)

REC-66

100-442529-2074

JAN 30 1967

~~SOVIET SECTION~~

~~INT. SEC. 7~~



643
FEB 7 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/23/67

FROM : *WMA*
SAC, BUTTE (100-8414) (P*)

SUBJECT: *CIRM*
OO: New York

Remylet, 10/18/66.

No pertinent information has been received by the Butte Division and no report is being submitted.

② - Bureau (Reg.)
1 - New York (Reg.)
1 - Butte
THZ/ar
(4)

EX-108

REC-23

100-442529-2075

JAN 30 1967



FEB 3 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/26/67

FROM : SAC, ANCHORAGE (100-2334) (P)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C
(OO: NEW YORK)

Re Anchorage letter to Bureau dated 11/3/66.

There is no Communist Party activity in Alaska at this time and the Anchorage Office has no pertinent information to report in this matter.

EX-108

REC-39

100-442529-2076

12 JAN 30 1967

(2) - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (RM)
1 - Anchorage
DEC/va1
(5)

INT. SEC.



5010-108

57 FEB 3 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 1/26/67	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/13,16-20/67
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY 	TYPED BY se
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA dated 10/28/66
at San Francisco.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being furnished to New York, Office of Origin, and to other offices because of their interest in CP activities within the San Francisco Division as they relate to similar activity within their respective areas.

Pursuant to Bureau instruction, copies have been furnished to local intelligence agencies.

This report is classified confidential because data reported from SF T-1 through SF T-16 if disclosed could reasonably result in identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

APPROVED <i>W.L. [Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
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AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA: Will continue to follow the activities of the CP and other subversive groups in racial matters and submit report on a quarterly basis.

INFORMANTS

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✓ SF T-1 is [redacted]	[redacted]
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Report of:

Date: 1/26/67

Office: San Francisco,
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Field Office File #: 100-53902

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

The East Bay CP Industrial Club, Sonoma County CP Club, Northern California District Negro Commission, Fillmore CP Club of SF, San Jose CP Club, Northern California District CP all during the last three months of 1966 held meetings discussing the Negro situation and problems, plans and strategy, "Black Power." ROSCOE PROCTOR, member of National Committee, CP, USA, conducted several of these meetings. Press release issued by ALBERT J. LIMA, Chairman of the Northern California CP District, set out showing CP position on 9/66 racial disturbances in Hunters Point and Fillmore District. Need for a Negro discussion bulletin for a "Black Power" conference of the District CP discussed by CP leadership. Text of "Discussion Bulletin, Northern California District Communist Party," used at "Black Power" Conference in SF 12/16-17/66 on Negro matters set out. Need for a new Negro resolution of the Negro Commission, Northern California CP District urged by CP leaders. Research notes and conclusions on the "Black Power" slogan and concepts dated 12/66 set out in full. YSA in East Bay held meetings to hear tapes by MALCOLM X on "Black Power and Permanent Revolution." Alleged that members of DCA, Oakland Chapter, stimulated riot conditions in Oakland, California. NCCAHUAC opposed HUAC investigation in Negro uprisings. NCCPFB offered services for defense of rioters in Hunters Point and Fillmore areas of SF. San Mateo CP Club about 9/66 SF racial disturbances and views set forth. Also Miscellaneous Industrial CP Club of

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SF SF held similar discussions. ✓ CP clubs in Sonoma and Marin Counties held discussions of infiltrating New Politics Committee. ✓ CP members have infiltrated CORE in San José, California, and CP members in SF working with CORE. ✓ JAMES FORSYTHE, CP member, is chairman of SACORE. ✓ Summary of remarks by STOKLEY CARMICHAEL at San Jose, California, 11/19/66 set forth.

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DETAILS:

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

A. Communist Party (CP), USA

1. Plans, strategy, Party line and the like made at national meetings, including expressions by national leaders and other functionaries

No information received under this category.

2. Plans, strategy, Party line and the like made at district and lower level meetings, including expressions by local leaders and rank and file members

SF The East Bay CP Industrial Club held a meeting at 6547 Tremont Street, Oakland, California, on September 26, 1966. At this meeting an educational was given by CP member BOB KAUFMAN in which he told those present that he would discuss briefly with them the political structures of the civil rights movement of the Negro people. He asserted the powerful Negro people's movement as the most dominant domestic force in the nation and these developments create new opportunities and responsibilities for the CP. He stated the CP must be the vanguard to lead the Negro people away from oppression, such as police brutality, and assist them in gaining first-class citizenship and full employment. He said the Negro ghettos must be eliminated entirely from the scene and that Negroes must have the right to live in white neighborhoods and also to be respected by all the peoples, regardless of race, white or black. He said it was necessary for the Negro people to have progressive white people to cooperate with them fully so that the CP can lead the Negro people away from this capitalistic oppression.

SF T-1, 9/27/66

A meeting of the Sonoma County CP Club was held at 420 West Railroad Avenue, Cotati, California, on October 19, 1966. The meeting was called to order by club chairman MORRIS RAPPOPORT and he gave a report of a previous meeting of the District Committee of the Northern California District CP (NCDCP). He said that the Committee discussed "black power" and decided that a committee would be set up to draw up a resolution on "black power" for the District Committee. ROSCOE PROCTOR, a member of the National Committee, CP, USA, was the guest speaker for the District Committee meeting. PROCTOR spoke on an article in "Political Affairs" magazine on "Black Power" written by JAMES JACKSON of the National ^{SI NY.} Committee CP, USA. PROCTOR told those present that JACKSON did not go far enough in his article. PROCTOR stated that the CP had to take a deep look at "black power" in the U. S. and that a clear definition of "black power" must be determined since different people have different definitions for the term "black power." Member of the ^{CP} club PLATT WILLIAMS said he knew what "black power" meant to the Negro people and his definition was that they want 20 per cent of the political power in the U. S. ROSCOE PROCTOR said the District Committee would take up "black power" at a conference in December, 1966. ROSCOE PROCTOR was the speaker at the Sonoma County CP Club meeting as well as at the District meeting. *Calif*

SF T-2, 10/20/66
SF T-3, 10/19/66

A meeting of the Negro Commission of the NCDCP was held in Oakland, California, at the residence of ROSCOE PROCTOR on November 9, 1966. The meeting was called to order by ROSCOE PROCTOR and he told those present that the District Committee of the CP wanted the Negro Commission to discuss "black power" and bring in a resolution to the District Committee meeting to be held in December, 1966. PROCTOR pointed out the guidelines for the resolution. He said the resolution should consider the Negroes' fight for freedom in the U. S. and this relationship with the war in Vietnam together with the inaction of the two major political parties in the U. S. as the basis for the resolution. MORRIS RAPPOPORT, who attended the meeting, said the Negro working class is working for political life in jobs and is putting pressure on unions for jobs. He said this is the reason STOKELY CARMICHAEL had to come out with his "black power" program.

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PROCTOR stated that Negro CP members have got to start working with young people, church groups, and Negro labor workers, the unemployed, and welfare people. PROCTOR stated he would prepare an outline of what had been discussed at this meeting and send it to all members of the Negro Commission for their consideration in drawing up a Negro resolution.

SF T-3, 11/9/66

A meeting of the Executive Board of the Fillmore CP Club of San Francisco was held on November 29, 1966. The principal subject discussed at this meeting was the hiring situation of Negroes in the major hotels in San Francisco in light of recent developments when an arbitrator decided a dispute between the hotel operators and various unions in favor of the unions' complaint that the hiring agreement pertaining to minority races violated the bargaining agreement with the labor unions involved. It was decided that club members JUANITA WHEELER and ALYTHIBODEAUX would talk to ALBERT J. LIMA, chairman of the NCD CP, and ARCHIE BROWN, former San Francisco County CP chairman, to find out what CP members should say to people in the community when talking on the above subject.

SF T-4, 11/30/66

A meeting of the San Jose, California, Club of the CP was held on December 6, 1966, at 5 Laumer Avenue, San Jose. An announcement was made at this meeting that the NCD CP would hold a conference on December 16-17, 1966, in San Francisco to discuss the topic "Black Power and White Chauvinism." The educational at this meeting concerned a recent speech made in San Jose by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on "Black Power." It was the consensus of the members of the club that they did not agree with CARMICHAEL'S statements to any great degree. CARMICHAEL, according to those in the discussion, condemns the left but then makes socialistic statements and for this reason the club members did not agree with CARMICHAEL.

SF T-5, 12/12/66

A conference of the NCD CP was held on December 16-17, 1966, at 81 Clementina Street, San Francisco. The subject of the conference was "Black Power and White Chauvinism." Representatives from the CP youth clubs in the Bay Area were present and there were CP members present from Los Angeles, California, and a group from Seattle, Washington. It was reported that approximately 100 persons attended this conference.

ROSCOE PROCTOR read a Negro Commission report and he told those present that he had been working with others on the Commission for three years on the problems of Negro rights and the subject had been discussed at the National Convention. PROCTOR read from a discussion bulletin on the subject of the Negro problem for approximately one hour. The discussion bulletin referred to is set out subsequently in this report. During the discussion, trade unions in general were vigorously condemned for not giving the Negroes chances they should have to join unions and secure employment.

One of the speakers at the meeting was BILL TAYLOR, a Negro CP functionary from Los Angeles, who spoke on "Black Power." He said the middle class Negro belongs to the "bribery class." He charged that the Negro can be bribed to do anything anyone wants. He charged that even after the riots in Watts and San Francisco promises were made to the Negro people, but he charged there is more unemployment among Negroes than before. TAYLOR stated the revolution in Russia was beaten down in 1905 but won out in 1917 because of the poverty issue. 54

SF T-5, 12/19/66
SF T-6, 12/20/66

3. Plans, strategy, Party line and the like as revealed in Party publications and other propaganda media, such as written directives, press releases, and the like

A meeting of club chairmen of the San Francisco County CP (SFCCP) was held at 241 Frederick Street, San Francisco, on October 10, 1966. At this meeting a press release of October 3, 1966, on the recent rioting in the latter part of September, 1966, in the Hunters Point and Fillmore areas of San Francisco was given out. At the time

the press release was issued, club member JOE FIGUEIREDO ⁵² pointed out that the CP had no program in this area which would enable them to control the rioting in any way. He pointed out that all the programs which the CP had referred back to the Party program in the 1930's and 1940's and stated the CP had no up-to-date program for the Negro people. He pointed out that a program must be drawn up so that if such a situation as the San Francisco rioting came up in the future the CP could take control. FIGUEIREDO stated that the rioting was caused by police brutality and that the CP could not do anything on the subject because of lack of money and Negro organizational program. The press release handed out is as follows:

"A 16-year-old boy was murdered for the crime of running away from a cop. The car he had run away from was reported stolen hours later. To the policeman, trained to put property rights above human rights, suspicion was justification for killing. Thus, his trigger finger set-off this outbreak of desperate protest.

"Now, as a result, our city has been painfully jolted into a new awareness of the living conditions which create 'riots' when triggered by police violence. This outbreak can be seen for what it really was: an upheaval against wanton murder and brutality, against poverty, joblessness, slum housing. It was a form of protest against the frustrations of apparent hopelessness, especially strong among the youth who are hardest hit - against the whole way of life this society has forced on the Negro people and other minorities.

"The local Power Structure - Business, City Hall, and the Police - bears the major responsibility for these 'riots'. In spite of repeated warnings of the pressure building up, they failed to act decisively. Instead they made feeble gestures, threw out a few crumbs, allowed cuts in the paltry 'War on Poverty' funds. Their application of 'footfield field' tactics, of mass

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police and troop violence against the communities where the outbreaks occurred only emphasized their previous failure. It is to the credit of the Negro people that their communities did not respond to such provocation with greater violence.

"In exposing the conditions which created them, these outbreaks should show to all that none of these conditions need to be. Our country could correct these conditions overnight if it truly dedicated itself to do so. If the money, poured by the billions into the unjust war in Viet Nam (\$2,000,000 a month), were used to abolish poverty and segregation in the United States, the conditions causing such 'riots' could be speedily corrected. Slums and slum living could be abolished for all, enough new jobs created to greatly increase employment where it is most needed. Schools, hospitals and recreation facilities could be improved, and the social atmosphere cleansed of the present air of violence.

"Instead our country has been following an opposite path which has made brutality part of national policy and behavior. The war against the people of Viet Nam is tied directly to the battle-grounds of San Francisco. Even the pitifully inadequate federal funds which were allocated for use in the 'War Against Poverty' and other social measures, have been slashed as a result of the war. As the war is continued and further 'escalated', still fewer funds will be available for a meaningful local social program.

"The lesson is clear. The war against the Vietnamese people must be ended. The funds released by ending the war must be used to wage a genuine 'War on Poverty' and liberate the people of our country from the intolerable conditions these upheavals have exposed.

"In the meantime the local Power Structure must be continually pressured forward on the path indicated toward an end of all racist policies and abolition of all forms of segregation

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and discrimination. The ghetto conditions in Hunters Point, the Fillmore and Mission Districts, must be ended. The police department must be cleansed of racism, brutality and disregard for human life. The youth of our city must be given job opportunities and on-the-job training to meet their needs. Throughout the city the people should organize, demonstrate and protest to insure the carrying out of these demands.

"Communist Party of San Francisco
Albert J. Lima
942 Market Street
San Francisco, California"

SF T-7, 10/11/66
SI

A meeting was held between JAMES FOREST of the SFCCP Committee and AL THIBODEAUX, CP member, on October 27, 1966, for the purpose of discussing CP activities on the Negro question. JAMES FOREST stated when the first sessions of the District Convention were held, a Negro resolution was felt to be insufficient as proposed. He stated later at the National CP Convention, it was concluded the Negro resolution was not satisfactory and the CP was afraid "it was missing the ball on this problem." Therefore, it is necessary for the CP to start all over again on the Negro problem and what to do about it. He stated the CP needs to prepare a Negro resolution which is in tune with the times. FOREST said to that end he was going to set up a meeting with members of the Negro Commission to discuss this matter and turn out a new resolution. He stated this is the most urgent question confronting the Party.

SF T-4, 10/31/66

A pre-convention conference on civil rights was held at 81 Clementina Street, San Francisco, on December 16-17, 1966, to discuss "Black Power." At this conference ROSCOE PROCTOR passed out and discussed a discussion bulletin issued by the NCDGP, Issue 1, December, 1966, on Negro problems. The discussions bulletin is as follows:

SF T-7, 12/19/66

DISCUSSION BULLETIN
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT
COMMUNIST PARTY

Number one

December 1966

The articles in this first issue of the Bulletin express the views of individual members and friends. They are presented in an attempt to vitalize and enrich the discussion around ideological concepts of our day.

The size, the content, and the success of the Bulletin depends entirely on you and your willingness to contribute your ideas and experiences.

Panel on Education

Northern California District

Communist Party

All contributions can be sent to the Education Panel, 1919 Oregon, Berkeley, California. This will be published on a monthly basis.

It is quite clear to the most casual observer that the Negro Freedom struggle in the United States today has found it necessary to look in order to re-evaluate some of its earlier premises and concepts--to weigh its progress; how far it has gone, how far it has yet to go, and how it proposes to get there. It is viewing its current needs in relation to its long range goals.

In short the movement is now at its crossroads.

It has been said and often repeated that it was the "Black Power" slogan and the varying interpretations of that concept which has given rise to this deep and fundamental re-examination.

For Marxists to really understand the essence of what is happening within the movement we must look beyond the mere slogan and examine the material and ideological conditions which make the slogan spread with such rapidity today.

Some of the questions which the Negro Commission suggest for study as a basis for discussion at our forthcoming conference on "Black Power" and white chauvinism are as follows:

- 1) What has been the extent of Negro migration in the past half century?
- 2) Are Negroes as a people progressing--economically, politically and socially--in America today?
- 3) Does the American melting pot theory apply to Negroes as it does to all other ethnic groups?

it does to all other ethnic groups?

4) Is there a growth in national consciousness among Negroes today.

5) Is there a difference between the civil rights coalition and the Negro revolution? If so, what are they?

6) What are the major issues around which differences exist within the movement today? Why?

7) Based upon your recent reading on the subject, how would you define the major components of the "Black Power" concept as projected by its leading advocates--is it proper that Marxists should support such concepts? (all of them? Some of them? Which ones?)

8) Is the 1959 Party position on Negro nationhood valid for today?

9) What should be the Negro peoples approach to coalition politics. The Labor movement--the poor--the peace movement.

10) What is the relationship between quality education and Negro freedom? How is quality education to be achieved?

11) How can the party program more effectively reflect the needs of the Negro people?

(a) What special steps can be taken to bring class understanding to the Negro movement.

(The following article was distributed by the Campus Chapter of the Communist Party on the campus of the University of California during the "Black Power Conference" troubles.)

It has become increasingly, apparent during the past few weeks that there is a major problem of relations between white and black on this campus which deserves serious and immediate attention. Attitudes on the part of some surrounding the planning and promotion of the upcoming "Black Power Conference" have brought this university to a major crisis. This crisis is more important and more serious than any other political problem faced by activist students on the campus. This is, in fact, the most important question which faces this country today--the question of white supremacy.

We feel the time has come for all of us on this campus to take a critical approach to what we have been doing. The tragedy of the situation is that it took an abrupt and angry reaction from the few Negro students amongst us to bring the process of self-examination.

The starting point is the total society.

American society is racist. All our institutions economic political and social are permeated by deep-seated racism and attitudes of white supremacy.

It will, of course, be denied by some but those attitudes of white superiority are directly reflected in this university community.

community.

Look around. The scarcity of Negro students on this campus testifies to the truth of the above statement. Rising student expenses compound the many difficulties that a white supremacist society has put in the way of Negroes getting an education. The lack of Negro students here is a reflection of the dismal state of American education in general and the criminal state of education offered Negroes in the public schools.

This university demonstrates that in education, as in everything else, a Negro child is born into this world with an externally-imposed handicap and that very little is being done about it.

The removal, by Administration-directed police of 600 Oakland Negro children last week is only another shameless example of our common failure.

The attitudes of white supremacy in this society are reflected on this campus and infects everyone of us. We who choose to call ourselves radicals are no exception.

We have heard the expression of many attitudes during the week which clearly give indication of what the problem is. Try these:

- "We don't need local Negroes, we've got Stokely Carmichael."
- One radical to another--"It's too bad we're not black; we could really shake this state up."
- At one point it was suggested that if the Administration refused to allow the event on campus it would be held in the West Oakland Negro community. "They're more afraid of our having it in West Oakland than on the campus."

After all, Oakland hasn't had its riot yet." Further it was suggested that we threaten to hold the rally in the ghetto in order to scare the Administration into granting campus facilities.

When Negro children were turned away from the use of university facilities last week, one radical suggested to another that the students be led to a confrontation with the police in front of Wheeler Auditorium.

The essence of the notion 'Black Power,' is the necessity, ability and right of black people to decide and direct the affairs of their struggle for freedom. It is perhaps difficult to imagine white supremacy being reflected in the planning and execution of an event inspired by the slogan "Black Power," but that is precisely what has happened.

Students on this campus have contributed greatly to the civil rights movement in the Bay Area but such laurels as they are, are far from strong enough to rest upon.

One might call the present situation a crisis of confidence--the deterioration of what tenuous confidence existed in the Negro community toward political activists on this campus.

Some of us in the radical community seem to think that, like the white power structure, we can decide which Negroes are worthy to participate in public life. Some of us feel no hesitation at deciding who "really" leads the Negro community; who are its legitimate spokesmen. Some of us take for granted that we know what it is that is important that whites know about the black community. Some of us insist upon treating the Negro community as a pawn, using the slogan "Black Power" to gain our own political ends.

ends.

Some of us refuse to believe that Negroes active in this area know enough, are smart enough, are radical enough to tell us anything of value about the black community; only celebrities are worth listening to.

We are not directing these remarks equally at all those politically active on this campus, nor at any one sector, nor do we wholly exempt ourselves from criticism. Many of the people involved in the preparation of this event were motivated by a sincere desire to have a forum through which they could learn the meaning of the most important national movement of this century.

But, the most important problem on this campus is not the fact that people here do not understand the tactics and slogans of the Negro peoples' movement. Rather, the problem is the challenge of racism. That is the major question in this country, in this state, and in our community, and that's what we ought to be talking about.

We suggest that the organizers of the up-coming conference change the subject of the gathering and retitle it: "Racism and its Challenges" and begin approaching the question through the front door. We expect that Stokely Carmichael and the other speakers would have something to say on the subject. The events this week prove that a lot needs to be said.

Campus Chapter, Communist Party.

Classical theoretical position and formulation of the Negro Question presented for your consideration.

The Party emphasizes that it is the special duty of whites to come forward as leaders in the fight against chauvinism. The white workers as part of the oppressing nation bear a special responsibility in the struggle against national oppression by its bourgeoisie; and the white Communists must be in the very forefront of this struggle as the vanguard of the working class....

The struggle against chauvinism is an absolute pre-condition to rebuilding the labor Negro alliance on a new basis, and this in turn is a pre-condition for a successful struggle against fascism, against imperialism, and for eventual socialism. The working class and progressive movements must learn to regard any act of chauvinism with the same loathing as any act of scabbing or informing--that is, as treachery to the working class, which, in fact, it is.

The wiping out of chauvinism is an indispensable part of the struggle of the working class to free itself from exploitation. This is stated by Karl Marx in a letter written on April 9, 1870. The letter stresses particularly the fact that the struggle against chauvinism is no act of humanitarianism, but a condition for the workers of the oppressing nation. A part of this letter follows:

"Every industrial and commercial center in England now possesses a working-class population divided into two hostile camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he (the English worker) feels himself a member of the ruling nation and so turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination over himself. He cherishes religious, social, and national prejudices against the Irish worker...

the Irish worker...

"This antagonism is artificially kept alive and intensified by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers, in short by all the means at the disposal of the ruling classes. It is the secret of the impotence of the English working class, despite their organization. It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power...

"Hence the task of the 'International' is everywhere to put the conflict between England and Ireland in the foreground, and everywhere to side openly with Ireland. The special task on the Central Council in London is to awaken a consciousness in the English workers that for them the national emancipation of Ireland is no question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment, but the first condition of their own emancipation."

(Selected Correspondence,
pp. 289-290)

From "The Struggle Against White Chauvinism"- National Education
Department CPUSA September 1949

When I was twenty, I worked with more than half Negro fellow workers, and chiefly had the experience of not knowing what color a person's skin was unless I stopped and thought about it.

Sometimes even then it took me a little time and effort to know. The fact that it had been otherwise before and became so again was undoubtedly the result of segregation.

Before that job, I could count on the fingers of one hand the number of Negroes I had any kind of acquaintance with. I had learned about slavery, emancipation, the Klam, life and lynchings in the South, and discrimination and segregation in the North. I shared my mother's indignation about the Scottsboro boys and Angelo Herndon.

But the only kinds of discrimination and prejudice that had personal meaning to me were male superiority and the paternalism of adults toward children and youth.

I was aware of, and rejected, the prejudice of many in the intellectual community in which I had grown up against the uneducated. Most intellectuals who feel this are less capable of original thinking than people who never finished elementary school, and in fact their creative intellectual process has been choked off precisely by bourgeois class education.

I have had to fight in myself anti-Irish and anti-Catholic prejudice. This grew first because of lack of association, second because of the domination of corrupt Irish politicians and reactionary Catholic ideology in many areas of my hometown life.

When I analyze my feelings today--and I am almost 45--I find that again I am often unaware of the color of people's skins unless I stop and think about it. This is undoubtedly because I live in an integrated neighborhood, my children go to integrated schools, and there are a good many adult Negroes among the people I see and work with.

work with.

I am glad of this because I think it shows that I have not been seriously damaged by prejudice. Occasionally I find it inconvenient because I forget at the same time the special conditioning that Negroes in the United States have had, which equips them to understand some of the things we talk about more readily than whites and others less, and which may encourage them to misinterpret some things I may say.

I have reactions of suppressed prejudice--uneasiness and distrust --with people who use foul language, also with girls whose hair is ratted and boys whose hair is long or otherwise unconventional. I had to sit down and think this out because I have this reaction to young Negro men whose hair styles are unfamiliar--but it is their hair, not the color of their skin, that I react to.

I have gotten to the age where it takes longer to become accustomed to changes of this sort.

I can also understand some of the fears of whites when they think about the riots. I can understand them because my children have white skins, they are influenced by their experiences, their friends, both Negro and white, their teachers, their friends' parents--including children in the schools and the neighborhood who use "Whitey" as a curse word.

We discuss Negro history with them, but I do not think it is possible for them fully to grasp the influences at work in the

minds of the Negro people, and especially the Negro children and youth, today. It is difficult for the Negro people themselves to analyze completely.

I share the concern of Negro mothers--I, too, do not want to see my children scarred, emotionally or physically, by the wanton hand of prejudice.

True, those who started this business of race prejudice were greedy whites, those who perpetuate it are greedy whites. But our common cause, in terms of every normal human need and aspiration, is with the oppressed of our land, black and white, yellow and brown.

We have nothing more in common with those who promote and profit from white supremacy than do the Negro people. I hope very deeply that my children will grow up to be fighters for full human rights for all human beings, regardless of color, sex or national origin; fighters for peace and socialism.

I hope they will not be accidentally hurt along the way by those who will someday be their comrades in arms.

About eight years ago an incident happened which was the reverse of white chauvinism--an uncalled for breach of comradely relations.

One of my children, who was then four, said to the white partner in a mixed marriage, "You are married to a black lady. You're not supposed to be." Or words to that effect.

If I had heard about this when it happened--and I was right in the same house when it happened--I could have found out the problem that was bothering my child and helped her to understand the world we live in then and there.

But the comrades whom my child had spoken to in this way didn't have enough confidence in my husband or myself to tell us the incident.

I heard about it months later, maybe even a year later, from someone else through party channels. I tried to bring it up with this child after I heard about it, but she had forgotten the incident and what brought it on.

Since she was inclined to be timid, subjective, and jealous of her brother and sister, I had the feeling that she would be hurt, ashamed and unable to see the objective matters involved, so I didn't force it.

I, too, was quite subjective then, so that in the long run my feelings were hurt by the serious lack of confidence these comrades had shown in me particularly, and also my husband.

If the same thing happened today I think I would raise a stink through Party channels.

The only conclusion I could draw was that these comrades must have had no political confidence in us whatsoever. Since I have very rarely been aware of any prejudiced reactions in myself, and have probed my mind deliberately to find them, and to the best of my knowledge had at that time been guilty only of being very shy and afraid of not being accepted by other people regardless of the color of their skins, I do not think I had done anything to offend these comrades or give them any false impressions, unless they misinterpreted my shyness which seems unlikely since I had been acquainted with them for years.

Whatever it was that brought that situation about, I want to make one point to all our Negro comrades. Please, comrades, with all the prejudice, all the innuendoes that are in the air we breathe, we white comrades need your help, and particularly where our children are involved.

If an adult makes a racist slander, that's one thing. If a small child makes a racist remark, please tell the child's parents when it happens! My child, who was ordinarily unusually considerate of other people's feelings, made that crack because someone outside the family had hurt her feelings. I could have helped her if I had been told about that when it happened.

My impression also is that the comrades involved must have brooded over this thing for months before they finally talked about it. They had the choice of thinking that my husband and I were white chauvinists or that some incident that we didn't know about had influenced our child. In either case it should have been brought

out immediately and openly--for the sake of the Party or for the sake of our child.

I ask all Negro and other minority comrades, please speak up. Give your white comrades the benefit of the doubt. If they don't deserve it, they should be exposed so that they can be handled politically. If they do deserve it, you'll be glad you did and they'll be especially glad you did!

In 1960 on the campus of Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, a movement developed. The young Negro students began to mobilize and move in such mass that it alerted the Negro citizens of that state. The students moved in a direction of alleviating the segregated policies which existed.

Their voices were so loud in what they advocated that it struck fear into the president of the university. He closed down the school and kicked out the students.

What were these young people doing? They were organizing sit-in demonstrations in Baton Rouge proper against the Woolworth stores. They were carrying on activities against police brutality and trying to point out to the Negro people that there were ways to fight the power structure.

Out of this struggle grew the leaders for the movement, particularly at this time in Louisiana. The leaders came primarily from the city of New Orleans, and after being expelled from Southern University, they returned to their respective homes in New Orleans and mapped out the plans for a CORE chapter.

This specific chapter became a symbol for the Negro citizenry of New Orleans. An extensive program was written and realized in the form of sit-ins in public accommodations.

At this time the chapter's membership was black. They educated the Negro community to what was happening in one sit-in movement.

It wasn't until 1961 when CORE instituted the Freedom Rides into Mississippi, that the Negro chapter in New Orleans became integrated. With the integration, co-existence between white and black became more difficult.

Distrust developed and people in the movement realized many problems had been introduced into the organization. In spite of the realities of working together for a common struggle, the background and experiences were so different that it was hard to communicate.

At the same time, plans evolved to register the Negro population.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BLACK POWER

I. HISTORY

A. Early Beginnings

1. Southern University - Baton Rouge

a. Implications - Free speech

2. CORE - New Orleans

a. Implications - Public Accommodations

3. CORE - Louisiana

a. Voter Registration

b. Freedom Rides

4. CORE - Mississippi

a. white people

5. SNCC - Mississippi

a. Voter registration

b. Northerners

6. Existing groups: NAACP, SCLC, Church, school (colleges and universities), Urban League, Black Nationalists

B. Current Groups in the Movement

1. SNCC, SCLC, CORE, Deacons, Muslims, Freedom Democratic Party, Urban League, Afro-American Society, plus independent local groups.

II. Struggle

A. Psychologically--self concept, image

B. Materially--jobs, unions wages, boycotts

C. Socially

1. Conflict

2. Change

3. Result

- A. The problems that deal with chauvinism come about because of a lack of adequate definition.
- B. Lack of educational describing what is meant.
- C. Unnatural situations involving unaccustomed cultural groups

A. Patronizing is another word for chauvinism. However it is something which whites do daily, either consciously or unconsciously. Failure to criticize Negro comrades when one believes them to be wrong is patronizing.

B. Very few people are aware of chauvinistic acts unless actually discriminating or prejudicial. Since unconscious or ignorant acts or statements are as chauvinistic, and are just as offensive or aggravating to amicable relationship in the Communist Party, then they must be continually pointed out in regular educational. Examples: Statements like "don't let them Jew you down" or "work like a Nigger" as well as not opening a car door for a Negro woman, are detrimental even though unconscious or habitually practiced.

Unless there is a conscious effort on all people to consider what is likely to be a chauvinistic act or statement, then there will be little change in minority members.

C. The setting in which these faux pas might be prevalent could be political but they are much more likely to take place in a relaxed, social atmosphere. For this reason the Party should maintain the political and minimize the social aspect of the different cultural groups until a better understanding is developed of each participating culture. Example: The idea of Black Power will not be acceptable to caucasians due to the chauvinistic unacceptance of the Negro dignity and black worth. Once this is understood, they will want for their minority brothers what they want for themselves; enough to fight for it. Seeing this alliance, the minority group can join and work for Communist Party goals, since these goals will coincide.

THE TRADE UNIONS AND DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING

A major task before the Party is to fully enter the struggle against discrimination in the hiring of Negro and other minority workers. This problem is basic to further progress in the struggle for Negro-white unity and of the building of the Negro-Labor alliance.

The struggle for Negro-white unity is the key towards making fundamental progress in this country. This question has been with us for years and our participation in working for a solution has been less than outstanding. But now developments in the burgeoning Negro freedom movement impels the labor movement to tackle this problem in a new and qualitatively different manner.

In recent months events have taken place that have jarred the establishment and the labor bureaucracy, and we must move into qualitatively increased action. Watts, Hunters Point, and the Oakland events (to say nothing of a dozen other cities in other states) means that there is something new.

The Negro people and particularly the Negro youth are on the move. Will this activity result in a "white backlash," with the racists being elected to office, etc. or will it result in a better understanding among white workers as to who is the real enemy? Will it result in a firmer Negro-white unity and a qualitatively different Negro-Labor alliance with labor entering the fight for jobs for Negroes and other minorities?

There are potentials for both of these developments with even both going on at the same time. Which trend will become and remain dominate depends to a large extent upon the Left and its adherents.

adherents.

HOW TO DISCUSS THE PROBLEM

The resolution on Labor and Trade Union Problems (18th National Convention) contains all of the basic points upon which to base our discussion. The section dealing with Negro-white unity is particularly appropriate to our discussion. Therefore this section of the resolution needs to be read and studied. That section is as follows: (From the Labor resolution which starts on the next page)

(The following three paragraphs should be inserted at the top of page 4.)

The Trade Union Commission had a discussion on a specific development which followed in the aftermath of the San Francisco outbreaks of the Negro community against police violence.

The San Francisco Board of Supervisors passed an anti-bias hiring ordinance. This ordinance gave a city commission the authority to investigate any discrimination in hiring on city jobs and contracts, and certain powers to cancel contracts where such discrimination existed and persisted.

The only major group against this ordinance was the labor movement, with all segments acting collectively to defeat it. Although the ordinance was months in the making, the voting on it took place right after the Hunters Point event. The employers were in the happy position of putting the onus on labor and even Mayor Shelley made a speech in which he said that some unions had to give up old ways of thinking and open their unions to minorities.

12/17/66

Negro-white Unity

"Divide and conquer" remains a fundamental precept of Big Business in its dealings with the working class. Every conceivable method is used to pit workers against each other. Men against women, young against older, white-collar against blue-collar, skilled against less skilled, those working against those out of work. Even religion is brought into play, pitting Protestant against Catholic. Many workers have gotten a bitter dose of anti-Semitic poison from company spokesmen seeking to divert them in their struggles, by trying to place the blame for the evils of capitalism on the back of a religious minority.

The corporations have always used discrimination in hiring against Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and other minorities as a potent instrument to divide the working class. U.S. capitalism is responsible for saturating our entire society with racism to its great profit, for discrimination means lower wages and living standards.

Racist gangs such as the Klan and National States Rights Party concentrate their organizing activities among white workers in the more industrialized areas of the South, paper mill towns such as Bugaloosa, La.; the steel areas of Birmingham and Bessemer, Ala.; the textile centers in the Carolinas; Lockheed Aircraft at Atlanta, Ga.; Alcoa Aluminum at Marysville, Tenn.

In industrial border cities like Baltimore, and others further north, like Cleveland, hate groups have full-time organizers in the white working-class communities. In all areas, North and South, they play on the fear of economic insecurity among white workers. "The Negroes are after your jobs," is their common rallying cry.

The unity of Negro and white workers in the labor movement and a firm alliance between Labor and the Negro Freedom Movement are the keys to progress in our country. This is equally true in both the North and South. Without this unity, Labor can make no substantial gains organizationally, economically or politically. Without such unity, the Negro Freedom Movement is fatally handicapped in the fight to put a permanent end to the system of jim-crow.

But the deadly poison of white supremacy continues within the ranks of organized labor, affecting many white union officers and members alike. Some otherwise advanced white union leaders seriously lack an understanding of the Negro question.

Negro trade unionists find great difficulty in advancing to positions of leadership beyond the level of the local union even in unions where they are a significant section of the membership.

The efforts that so far have been made to open union rolls to skilled Negro workers, and apprenticeship training programs to Negro youths have produced pitifully poor results.

Some skilled building trades unions, North and South, are among the most guilty of either barring Negroes from membership altogether, or shunting them off into jim-crow locals, but they are not alone in the commission of this crime.

White supremacy is a dangerous weapon in the hands of Big Business and its ultra-Right supporters. The Wallace campaign in the North gave evidence of this. Unchallenged, it is a time bomb in the ranks of the trade unions. Along with red-baiting, it is a cornerstone of every anti-union edifice.

In its own self-interest, the labor movement must ruthlessly root this malignancy out of the leadership, and take the fight against it into the local union halls and white working-class communities. Greater use must be made of the trade union press, particularly the regional journals and local papers, in the fight for Negro-white unity. Negro organizers must be given equal status with white, and every level of trade union leadership must reflect the growing number of Negro members in the ranks and among those to be organized.

The mutual self-interest of the Negro people and the working class, Negro and white, is strikingly exemplified in the many-sided struggles for full employment at decent wages. These are the basic ingredients of the real war on poverty. First and foremost is the fight for the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay. The AFL-CIO, which up to now has not given serious attention to this demand, must lead and coordinate a mighty economic and political drive to bring it about. With the support of the Negro Freedom movement, a victory can be won which will open up a whole new field of job opportunities, counter unemployment induced by automation, and remove a potential source of conflict among the working class.

But the trade unions cannot expect the Negro people to join a struggle for jobs that are going to be filled on a discriminatory basis. As a part of the fight for jobs for all, the unions must vigorously campaign for an end to discrimination in hiring and promotion. They must initiate a demand for a faster rate of hiring and promotion of Negro workers on new jobs as well as replacements for openings created by the normal process of labor turnover--retirement, transfers, etc., as a necessary step to correct the imbalance brought on by generations of discrimination against Negro workers.

As the labor movement has taken up the fight to end the Southern differential, it must take up the fight to eliminate the differential between white workers and Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican and other minorities.

The increased identification of the labor movement with the indigenous movements that are growing in various parts of the country, particularly in the field of civil rights, voter registration and poverty, is a healthy development. From these can grow political action alliances mutually beneficial to the organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed alike.

Negro-white working-class unity and a firm Negro-Labor alliance is an absolute prerequisite for ending the role of the South as a base of reaction, and bringing it into the 20th century.

A coordinated organizing drive, with the support of the Freedom movement, can bring hundreds of thousands of new workers into the labor movement, put an end to the Southern differential in wages, and remove the threat to the standards of workers in the rest of the country.

LABOR' POSITION

The statement made at the time of the Board hearing by Labor can be boiled down to the following: The Unions have always supported a fair employment program and "such a program should include specific plans for the development of additional jobs." Just the same Labor demands complete respect for its contracts and the rights of its members to employment under those contracts. Further that no public agency has the right to mediate or arbitrate such an agreement. That the Labor movement would consider any picketing and demonstrating activity which would try to effect the employment under contracts as anti-union. Nevertheless organized Labor stands for the fundamental goals of equal opportunity in employment. To the surprise of all, Harry Bridges, representing the I.L.W.U., spoke for this position.

A subsequent statement issued by George Johns, Secy. of the San Francisco Labor Council was much improved. This later statement reflected the pressure coming from within and outside of the unions. In this statement Johns said that the unions had always "been in favor of such legislation." (The ordinance.) He said there was a lot of talk and promises but so far no jobs. Further that Labor does not create jobs. (A point he and Bridges made at the time of the hearing.) Regulations and control over working people (as proposed in the Ordinance) "will not solve the problems of a shrinking job market..." He blamed the Redevelopment Agency for chasing small "blue collar job" firms out of the city with its fancy redevelopment. He called for (as a started) a project of slum clearance and industrial activization in a certain blighted area. He stated further that the job conditions and security of minority workers could only be protected by union contracts.

...and security of minority workers could only be protected by union contracts.

Some Analysis--Our v

In the above statements and actions around the ordinance we have before us all the problems posed at the beginning.

We start with the fact that we are concerned with the interests of the entire working class, organized and unorganized, youth and adults, men and women, Negro, Mexican-American, all minorities, as well as white. We know that unless there is the greatest unity of all sections, that labor will suffer. We know the key to moving the entire Labor movement forward is the breakthrough on jobs for minorities.

We look upon the organized section of the Labor movement as the strongest component of Labor. We want to do everything possible to strengthen that section and to counteract the attack being made upon it from a number of sources. It's weaknesses are plenty and must be corrected. But we must begin with the existing Labor movement. We recognize its weaknesses and drawbacks, not in order to become frustrated and paralyzed, but to help make changes. Here we are addressing ourselves primarily to make a change in the discriminatory hiring practices and helping to eradicate white chauvinism.

We must grasp the truth that the Labor movement does not create jobs. These can only come from the employers and their government. Therefore the major responsibility rests with the capitalist class. Further that discrimination in jobs is mainly the fault of the employers. If the employers wanted to, they could quickly change the situation.

The number of jobs are finally decided by the employers.. This is true since not more than 25% of the workers in this country are organized. (some 36% in California.) All of the anti-poverty

money and related programs have resulted in pitiful few jobs, so the government also shares the blame for the lack of jobs.

Just the same in this particular situation some unions are guilty of rank discrimination. These unions hide behind the "sanctity" of union contracts, reminiscent of the excuse they use to cross each other's picket lines. The jobs created by the Bay Area Rapid Transit project shows just where the unions are to be held responsible.

The Negro Peoples organizations in the East Bay proposed some months ago that a number of Negro and other minority workers should be trained for such jobs. The Alameda Central Labor Council approved and a Skills Training Center was set up.

However, the Alameda Building Trades Council refused to participate, saying they had enough people to fill the jobs and did not want the crafts flooded. Therefore, as the jobs open up they are filled through the union (overwhelmingly white) and the Negro workers can't even qualify since they are not trained for the skill.

It so happens that for the past several months, work in the building trades has been the slowest for years. Halls are filled with unemployed men anxiously waiting for the BART jobs. Now we have a classical situation. Negro workers are incensed that they can't get a job even on a government project and white workers are led to believe that the Negroes and other minorities are out after their jobs. Negro-white unity suffers; antagonism against unions develops among the Negro people and an attentive ear is given by white workers to every racist slander.

to every racist slander.

The employers strategy is obvious: First raise the chauvinism of the whites--promote the "backlash." Then in good time put forth another proposition 18; this time it will be indeed difficult to convince the Negro and other minority peoples to vote against any anti-labor measure.

It is not without good cause that the Labor movement fears interference by the capitalist government. The Taft-Hartly and Landrum Griffin laws, the court injunctions and Presidential intercession are examples enough. Any weakening of their job security is indeed a danger.

To a large extent the I.L.W.U. was prompted to take the position it did because of their experience with being sued under the law. Had the case been decided against the Union it would have meant a drastic revision in the hiring hall practices and as every one knows the I.L.W.U. is integrated.

What the unions don't realize is that they are only laying the groundwork for more governmental interference by refusing to face up to and fight discrimination and white chauvinism in their own ranks. They have not absorbed the lessons of the South where wages and conditions are the worst in the country and in some places in the South it is worth an organizer's life if he tries to organize.

The unions don't face up to the fact that unemployment is three times the rate among Negro workers than among the white. The "great boom and prosperity" has by-passed the Negro and other minority workers.

The situation in summary: The capitalist class is primarily responsible for discrimination, poverty and unemployment. The unions are legitimately concerned about their hiring halls, job security and the danger of anti-labor governmental bodies. The Negro and other minority people are justified in their critical attitude toward the unions insofar that the unions practice discrimination and are riddled with white chauvinism.

Specifically the unions are guilty when they refuse to participate in training minority workers for skills and refuse to do anything about leveling off the disproportionate unemployment among minority workers.

It is well worthwhile at this point to recite certain facts. One: the Labor movement is not one solid racist group. There are splits about how to handle union discrimination, and there are a number of white unionists who work for integration. Two: historically the unions have played a leading progressive role in helping to establish the public school system and the breakthrough on organizing the unorganized, including million of minority workers, particularly in the 30's and 40's. They also fought for the unemployed at that time.

Proposals

These are certainly not final, complete or listed in order of importance.

1. Wherever possible local unions, District Councils, and leading individuals in the unions should differentiate themselves from the official position taken at the Board of Supervisors. Even Johns later statement should be criticized for failing to tackle those unions that discriminate and refuse to take in minority workers even on such tax paid jobs as BART.

2. A many sided and imaginative educational program has to be urged upon the labor movement, directed toward combating white chauvinism and the danger of a right-wing being built within the Labor movement. The Left need to conduct its own educational campaign. Not least important is education within its own ranks on such questions as, how do you combat racism and chauvinism with your fellow workers and in the unions.

The Party should issue material for mailing and distribution, and the People's World should be urged to carry a series of articles with organized distribution to union members.

3. Groups, Alliances, Caususes. There were a variety of proposals under this heading made in the panel and board.

One proposal was to help revive and strengthen Negro Caususes in the unions on the basis they would fight from within against chauvinism, job discrimination.

For the most part the discussion called for finding in each situation a common ground that would advance the interests of both Negro and white workers. Example: the struggle against discrimination of older workers. The struggle for democracy within the unions would be strengthened with a fight against discrimination. There is generally a movement going on throughout the the Labor movement against the old guard, against the suppression of rank and file participants.

This is engendered by the effects of mechanization and automation. The Convention Trade Union Resolution discussed the question of rank and file groups and our approach toward them.

4. Fight for jobs: A massive program for jobs for all is the key demand. The unions would join in and could be persuaded to agree to no discrimination.

In this connection we should take a critical, but positive attitude toward the "Freedom Budget" recently launched by the A. Phillip Randolph Foundation. On the positive side it calls for billions of dollars for many public projects (Note: we should get the details).

Such a program is the kind needed to even begin to tackle the problem.

The weakness is that the foundation says the "Freedom Budget" can be financed even with the war going on in Vietnam. That means higher taxes on the people, and would result only in increasing the "white backlash" with the propaganda that the whites have to pay for "them."

We must fight for the rich being taxed for such a program, with the taxes coming from corporation and rich individual's profits. We must also expose the lie that "we can do both--guns and butter." It is very important that the Labor movement takes a lead in this fight.

5. Support to independent struggles of Negro people for jobs: We should help influence the direction of their blows against the ruling class and its government. In specific instances where there is discrimination by unions we should not hesitate to support the demand and pressure of Negro organizations upon the unions.

It is entirely possible that certain union headquarters and job sites will be picketed. We should be prepared for this eventuality, but at all times work for understanding and unity.

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The Negro Commission of the NCDCCP in December, 1966, prepared a document entitled "Research Notes and Some Conclusions on the Black Power Slogan and Concepts". It was reported that this document was the basis of a discussion also at the "Black Power" Conference held December 16-17, 1966. This document is as follows:

SF T-5, 12/19/66
SF T-8, 12/19/66

December 1966

NEGRO COMMISSION

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT

OF

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Research notes and some conclusions on the
"Black Power" slogan and concepts

The specific and historical conditions feeding the growth of black nationalism and cohesion among the Negro people are; the national liberation movements on a world scale which has had tremendous effects on the mood and psychology of the Negro people here at home; the tremendous population shifts which have taken place among the Negro masses; the failure of the nation to absorb them into the society as a whole--the breakdown of the melting pot theory when applied to the Negro people; the growing resistance of the trade unions to take Negro workers into the unions--include them into the various apprenticeship training programs; to combat inner union job discrimination around hiring procedures, and to elevate those already in the unions to positions of trade union leadership; the worsening conditions of the Negro masses (the policies and practices of the police and state apparatus toward the Negro masses; the breakdown of the old liberal-democratic-civil rights coalition.

When these developments are coupled with the beginning experiences in independent political action and new independent political forms through which this independent political action is beginning to express itself, we see that conditions are favorable for the further development of nationalism on the part of the American Negro people.

Here when we speak of nationalism we have in mind the growing national consciousness and cohesion on the part of the American Negro people and not the narrow, separatist nationalism of the black Muslim variety.

Historical oscillations between integration and separation

Throughout the history of the Negro people in the U.S. they have oscillated between the tendency toward the status of separate nationhood and of integration into the institutions of the United States.

They have been particularly influenced in this respect by the rise and fall of democratic waves of development in the United States and the world.

The extreme oppression under which the great body of slaves in the Americas lived and the fact that they came originally from many different tribal backgrounds and localities and spoke widely varying languages held back their ideological national development for many decades.

The United States Revolution of 1776 awakened moving desires of winning their freedom which they undoubtedly connected with being integrated citizens of the new republic.

Instead of setting them free, the revolution fastened the shackles of slavery even more firmly in the south. Then one of the oscillations which has been characteristic of American Negro national development took place.

The first generation or so after the revolution the Negro people experienced strong nationalist tendencies. Freedmen built many Negro institutions that had distinct nationalistic tendencies; the Negro church, Negro press, and the Negro fraternal and insurance movements are examples. These institutions did not have marked integrationist tendencies.

From about 1830 on, the intensity of the pre-civil war struggles against slavery sharpened. The Negro people played a key part in the momentous struggle and the approaching war re-generated integrationist concepts.

These integrationist tendencies came to a head not only in the several constitutional amendments of the post-war time (especially the Negro vote), but particularly in the reconstruction governments that were organized in the South right after the war. These governments were organized on the basis of integration of the Negroes with Americans generally on the principal of political equality--the concept of social equality being but poorly developed.

In 1876 this experience with integration came to a sudden end with the Hayes-Tilden campaign. The forces of monopoly capital, convinced that they had a workable control over the plantation owners, cold-bloodedly sold out the Negro people. For the next half-century, the Negro people were subjected to the most barbarious and brutal jim-crow oppression of all time. It was the period of wide-spread lynchings and of all the most terrible features of the jim-crow system. With few exceptions the Negro people had to fight along. Hundreds of thousands fled to the North.

It was during this half-century that the Negro people, deeply persecuted, developed their sharpest tendencies of independent Negro nationalism.

Although many Negro leaders continued to be integrationists, the most definite national expression was the movement led by Marcus Garvey.

For several years following 1916 the Universal Negro Improvement association had a profound grip on the Negro masses in the United States. Its plan for the Negro people was to migrate back to Africa. Garvey claimed two million members.

Even Booker T. Washington, who has been deeply criticized for his toting attitude toward the white rulers, had much nationalism in his ideological make-up. He was the founder of the National Negro Business League with its program of building the Negro Bourgeoisie and Negro industry.

In the late 1920's the Communist Party adopted the theory that the Negro people in the South were a nation.

The New deal of 1930, the unionization of some two million Negro workers, the monumental interantional struggle against facism which culminated in the winning of World War II, and the tremendous growth of Socialist countries in Eastern Europe and Asia in the post-war period were vast democratic movements that had a profound effect upon the Negro people. Following the second World War the Negro people again developed a strong trend toward integration with the dominant institutions of the United States.

This did not mean, however, that they were finished with nationalism, or that they would develop only those tendencies which would be moving in the direction of integration.

The strong affinity of the Negro people for the colonial people of the world, the need to stress the Negro problem in

every field (including trade-union leadership). The right of the Negro people to decent housing, to end discrimination in hiring present problems which would have to be dealt with within the context of the special national oppression of the Negro people.

The American Negro's identification with black people throughout the world

The Negro liberation movement in the United States has drawn great strength, pride and confidence from the national liberation movements throughout the world.

In half a century, the political face of our planet has changed fundamentally. This is the century of revolutionary upheaval and liberation of the working people--colonial emancipation is coming into its own.

In Asia the colonial system began to disintegrate immediately after the second world war.

"Africa Enflamed," "Liberation Hurricane Sweeps Africa," "Africa Smashes the Chains of Colonialism" were the newspaper headlines in the 1950's. These were the years of unprecedented upsurge in the national liberation movement. In the five years ending 1960 twenty-two independent African states had come into existence. Two more--Sierra Leone and Tanganyika acquired political independence in 1961; Algeria, Uganda, Ruanda, and Uganda by the end of 1962; and Kenya and Zanzibar by the end of 1963.

The struggles of these colored people has had a profound effect upon the struggles and the experiences of the Negro oppressed in the United States. A great deal of pride has been drawn from the fact that these new nations of color have gained their independence and are now participating in the world organization--the United Nations.

American Negroes take pride and dignity from the fact that colored people are governing themselves and are representatives of states. Almost all of the major civil rights leaders have had an opportunity to visit and to talk with leading spokesmen for the colored people throughout the world. Where they meet each other as brothers, as colored people of the world who have a great deal in common as formerly and currently oppressed people, they speak in terms of the common oppression and the common identity of black people throughout the world. There exists among them close feelings of kinship.

Negro Migration

Negro migration from the south started before the end of the 19th century and took on vast proportions during the war decades. There was a decline in the rate of flow during the 1930's but even the heavy unemployment rate of that period failed to check the Northward movement.

Prior to the first world war, Negroes in the U.S. were overwhelmingly a southern peasantry. As late as 1910, the census figures showed that some 80 per cent of the total Negro population was in the South--ninety per cent lived in rural areas.

The push was provided by an increase in productivity in agriculture owing to mechanization, more intensive methods of cultivation.

As a consequence, demand for farm labor lagged behind' increasin agricultu output. It had reached its peak in 1910.

Faced with declining demand for farm labor, farm laborers naturally looked cityward for the opportunity to earn a livelihood. Most of the immigrants from the South settled in Northern cities, but within the South itself there has been steady migration from country to city.

Negroes now form a substantial section of the urban working class. The three to one rural-urban ratio of 1910 has almost been exactly reversed. Today three out of four Negroes live in cities--approximately one out of two live in Northern cities. Eleven metropolitan areas have Negro populations between 200,000 and one million.

Population experts predict that by 1980, Afro Americans will constitute the majority in fifty of the nation's largest cities. In Washington D.C. and Newark, New Jersey, Afro-Americans are already a majority. In Detroit, Baltimore, Cleveland, and St. Louis, they are one third or more of the population. In a number of others such as Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, and Oakland they constitute well over one-fourth of the population. There are more Afro-Americans in New York City than in the entire state of Mississippi.

Even where Negroes are not yet a majority as in Detroit and Oakland, their children now are well over fifty per cent of the school population. It is in the urban ghetto that Negro history will be made in the foreseeable future.

Melting Pot theory breaks down

Earlier immigrant groups coming from Europe to the United States and settling in the cities were able to start their climb up the economic ladder through the labor unions, public schools and control of political organizations.

Expansion in the total economy made room for them above and others were ready to take their place at the bottom.

Few Negroes have been able to follow in the footsteps of earlier European immigrant groups. They have been forced to remain at the bottom of the economic ladder; there is neither room above nor anyone ready to take their place below. The civil rights revolution and its resulting reforms did help a few individuals, but did not advance the group.

The only rise in living standards for the mass of Negroes came as a result of the migration from the bottom of the Southern agricultural ladder to the bottom of the urban industrial ladder. Circumstances of the Negro workers relative to the white workers has grown worse. The Negro has borne the brunt of the deterioration of the services and facilities of the city--employment housing, transportation, health, education, police protection.

Employment

Roughly 15 years ago the number of unskilled jobs were stable and Negroes were able to hold their own in the total employment picture by replacing white workers who were moving up the economic ladder. As unskilled jobs and semi-skilled jobs are eliminated by mechanization, automation, and cybernation,

Negro workers are being disproportionately hard hit.

Unskilled labor declined from 36% of the working force in 1910 to 20% in 1950, then dropped suddenly to 5% in 1960. This trend affects Negroes more than any other group, and since many authorities think that this technological revolution is in its early stages, the job situation among Negroes is likely to go on deteriorating.

The only jobs which will increase, and in which Negroes now dominate, are jobs such as servants, waitresses, cooks--the traditional service jobs which have added to the Negroes sense of inferiority.

As requirements for skilled jobs grows stiffer and as semi-skilled jobs decline, Negroes will face competition from whites to hold even these marginal jobs.

The median income of the Negro family is only 50 per cent of the white, and in the last ten years the Negro position relative to the white has declined--Negro masses today are in worse economic shape; live in worse slums and attend more highly segregated schools than in 1954.

More Negroes are unemployed today than in 1954. The gap between the wages of the Negro worker and the white worker is wider. While unemployment among white youth is decreasing, the rate among Negro youth has increased to 32%. Among young men--18 to 24--the national rate is five times as high for Negroes as for whites, and among Negro girls the rise is even more startling.

as for whites, and among Negro girls the rise is even more startling. The restless, brooding young men without jobs who cluster in the bars in the winter and on the stoops and corners in the summer are the stuff out of which riots are made. The solution to riots lies in finding jobs for the unemployed and in raising the social and economic status of the entire Negro community.

In the South, which has for years been dependent on cheap black labor, the trend has been most vicious. Negro tenant and sharecroppers have been displaced by machinery and are now seasonal workers or migrants. Since 1957 the demand for agricultural labor in the south has dropped by 48%.

In the future the need for agricultural labor will continue to decline, and while this paper does not attempt to propose any solutions to the problems of the landless farmers in the South it is certainly a question which we have to address ourselves in the near future.

Housing

Another important aspect of the social and economic problems facing the Northern urban ghettos is the fact that all are crowded and poor.

Harlem houses 232,000 people within 3 and 1/2 square miles. There are more than 100 people per acre. Ninety per cent of the 87,000 residential buildings are more than 33 years old--nearly half were built before 1900.

The condition of the new buildings is classified as poor. Eleven per cent are classified as dilapidated by the 1960 census--they

need more repair than would be

do not provide safe and adequate shelter. Thirty-three per cent are classified as deteriorated--they need more repair than would be provided in the course of normal maintenance. There are more people in fewer rooms than elsewhere in the city and the rent per room is often higher in Harlem than for better equipped buildings downtown.

The effects of overcrowded, unsafe, and deteriorating housing upon physical health are well documented.

On Schools

Sixty-five per cent of all first grade Negro students in this country attend schools which are from 90 to 100 per cent black. As estimated 88 to 90 per cent of the Negro pupils in the Southern states are still in totally segregated schools.

Negro children in ghetto schools tend to lose ground in I.Q. as they proceed through the schools and to fall further and further behind the standards for their grade level in academic performance. Today about 55% of Negro youth between 18 to 25 years of age are school drop-outs.

Schools in the ghettos have lost faith in the ability of their students to learn--and the ghetto has lost faith in the schools to lead and to teach.

A three year study recently concluded by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency decided that "in most cases (the) study showed that various aspects of the school system itself, rather than any qualities inherent in the students, were the chief factors causing students to leave high school."

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The report also showed that "the American high school tends to be a white, middle-class institution loaded against the Negro working-class pupil."

The study focused on Ann Arbor high school and four other unidentified Michigan schools "because they are exemplary of the national norm, rather than exceptions to the rule."

Immediate and total integration of the schools is not possible in cities with large and growing Negro population. As middle class whites desert the cities and the public schools, the quality of the schools does decline. Not because Negroes are inferior, but because the school system behaves as though they are.

White middle-class parents will not endure reversed bussing—that is, the transport of their children into the ghetto schools which Negroes themselves have said for years are inferior.

Desegregation of urban ghetto public schools will occur only if all of the schools in a district are raised to the highest standards so that the quality of education does not vary as to the income or social status of the neighborhood.

And so Negroes are pushed even further down in the social structure and locked into the ghettos.

It has often been said that in the urban ghettos policemen are regarded as occupation soldiers of an unsympathetic colonial government. For anyone who has ever had an opportunity to observe the behavior of cops operating in the black ghettos and to see young Negro militants (both male and female) in their fearless, defiant attitudes will agree that this is a fairly accurate description of the relations.

In each case where uprisings have taken place in the black ghettos the pattern has been the same: An incident involving police harassment, brutality or shooting--street fighting between Negroes and white policemen; bottles, bricks, and Molotov cock-tails--smashing of plate glass windows and looting--more cops; and finally the National Guard to put down the uprising.

The brutality and the troops feeds the growth of black nationalism and is a factor in uniting the black people in the United States. The failure of state and federal governments to protect the Negro citizens in the exercise of their civil and constitutional rights and the United States racist policies in involving Negro youth in the military services and in foreign aggression again adds fuel to the fire of black nationalism.

Relative improvement in conditions of Negro middle-class and effects of tokenism.

The deterioration in the living conditions among the Negro people is only true of the Negro masses. The Negro middle class on the whole is doing very well. This group has, if anything a preferred position in the job market. U.S. imperialism has rather sharply raised the demand for this group. As I.F. Stone put it, one would be hard put to describe a person with better job opportunities than a newly minted Negro Ph.D.

tunities than a newly minted Negro Ph.D.

Business and Industry, in the face of the civil rights revolution, have been reassessing their employment policies and hiring Negroes for offices and other salaried positions that they rarely held before. The same thing has been happening in government. Negroes are increasingly being placed in high-paying jobs that are near the cabinet level in government--Federal judgeships and the like.

The growth of the black bourgeoisie has been marked since the second world war. Between 1950 and 1960 the proportion of non-white families with income over \$10,000 increased from 1% to 4.7%--a rate of growth close to three times that of whites.

The success of the civil rights movement and tokenism has deepened the gap between the Negro middle- and upper-classes and the Negro masses. As middle-class Negroes are brought into the economic and political power structure they also become more acceptable in the middle- and upper-class suburbs.

This difference in class background and economic opportunities could very well account for some of the stresses and strains which now exist within the civil rights movement.

The black bourgeoisie has a material stake in the existing social order, but its loyalty is still doubtful because of the special disabilities imposed solely because of color.

If this loyalty can be secured the potential revolutionizing of the Negro protest movement can be forestalled through the placing of loyal Negroes in prominent positions.

The fact that the great mass of Negroes derives no benefit from tokenism does not mean that they are unaffected by it. One of the purposes of tokenism, and, to the extent that it succeeds, one of its consequences is to detach the ablest young men and women from their own people and thus to deprive the liberation movement of its best leadership material.

Even those who have no stake in the system and no hope of acquiring, may become reconciled to it if they come to believe there is a chance that their children or even their children's children may be able to rise out of their own degraded conditions.

Sigma Pi Phi, founded in Philadelphia in 1904, reflects most clearly the class distinction among the Negro people. E. Franklin Frazier in Black Bourgeoisie said, "It has become one of main expressions of social snobbishness on the part of the black bourgeoisie."

The fraternity provides no program of action, but it does provide a sense of belonging for its members. An important aspect of the organization's value is said to be that Negroes could enjoy friendship with persons of similar status without needing to be reminded continually of the every day problems of being a Negro.

The break-up of the old Democratic Party-Labor-Liberal Coalition

From the time the Abolitionist Movement to World War II, civil rights remained the cause of a small, predominantly white reformist group whose influence was more a matter of persuasion than political power.

What changed civil rights almost overnight from a peripheral moral issue to a major domestic movement was the emergence of the Negroes themselves as a nationwide bloc.

Since World War II our domestic policies have been dominated by two political forces--the civil rights coalition and the Negro revolution.

Often these two movements have been so entwined as to be almost indistinguishable. They are often lumped together under the term "civil rights movement" when they are, in fact, distinct movements with different histories, constituencies, and goals.

The civil rights movement has been essentially concerned with the structure of law and social justice. Its goal has been to bring the legal and formal institutional structure of American society into closer conformity with constitutional principles. The civil rights coalition believes that what is good for democracy is good for the Negro and the Negro revolution believes that what is good for the Negro is good for democracy.

The supporters of the Negro movement and the supporters of the civil rights movement were not consistently divided along color lines. The foremost advocates of the strategy which bases the Negro future largely on the fulfillment of constitutional principles has been the Negro civil rights agencies. In recent years they have furnished much of the political muscle

of the civil rights movement, but this had not radically changed the character of the civil rights movement. It was an alliance of the forces of la[redacted], humanism, religious radicalism, and political liberalism and was dominated by a liberal political philosophy.

The civil rights movement caught the imagination of the politically starved youth of the late 1950's and early 1960's. It offered excitement, a break with the past, and a practical outlet for social idealism. To fair-minded adults it promised a long overdue correction of chronic injustice. For the indifferent, the opportunists, and the hostile it commanded political respect,

The civil rights coalition can point to some radical changes in the formal structure of American society--the reconstruction of the legal basis of civil rights; the fixing of federal responsibility to intervene where possible to enforce civil rights; and the establishment of equality before the law as the public policy of the nation.

Conflicts between the white liberals and the Negroes began when the militant direct action tactics (mass demonstrations, sit-ins, boycotts) were exported to the North.

Such tactics seemed suitable to conditions in the South but black militancy in general was a new experience for the white man. Some white liberal groups, the unions and the churches for example, had their own traditions of militancy and could understand what the Negro was doing; but the issue of aggressive tactics more and more distinguished whites from blacks within the civil rights coalition and militant Negro leadership.

coalition and militant Negro leadership.

The Negro's demand for special consideration was another source of tension. While the white coalition thought it was correcting an injustice by repairing the New Deal's failure to take in the Negro, the Negro himself found that the problem of unemployment had grown so serious that it could no longer be dealt with by the normal process of non-discrimination. The Negro demand for compensatory hiring and preferential treatment that was formulated to meet this situation turned out to be totally unacceptable to the liberals for it conflicted with the traditional liberal idea of equal opportunity and equal treatment of people according to their individual merits.

Secretary of Labor Wirtz announced that the government, in a complete reversal of its earlier practice was requiring information as to race on all its job applications.

Negro group pressure for jobs had countermanded one of the earlier achievements of the liberal coalition that had eliminated all reference to race and religion from the formal hiring procedure -- an achievement which was once counted as a great victory for the forces of non-discrimination.

The Negro militant tends to see the present civil rights gains as the political patronage doled out to upper-class Negroes mortgaged to the Johnson administration.

The old coalition's program seems to have been achieved. Virtually everything that was seen by the liberals as legal civil rights has either been granted or has been accepted in principle. The civil rights coalition is being taken over and its place is being taken by a new force in American life -- the Negro movement.

The liberal berates the Negro militant whose aggressiveness he blames for the weakening of the coalition when, in fact, that coalition is dying from having performed his function.

Equality of opportunity has had little effect upon the segregated lives of the vast majority of Negroes who are still forced to live in the ghetto. The great majority of ghetto dwellers are daily witnesses to the capacity of the ghetto to replenish itself at its core more rapidly than it can be skimmed off at the periphery by those few Negroes who fight their way to its outer edge.

No strategy can be regarded as realistic unless it recognizes that whatever additional gains the Negro can hope to achieve through the civil rights movement are not likely to help his economic predicament or radically reduce the overwhelming effect of the ghetto upon his life.

Until recently the liberal philosophy of the civil rights agencies provided the sole strategy for the Negro cause. Today the disillusionment with the liberal ideal of a color-blind society is strengthening the forces that are for a color conscious Negro movement.

This dilemma cannot be escaped by blaming Negro militants for alienating white supporters through their anti-white rhetoric. Even if every Negro in America daily professed his great love for whites the coalition would still be breaking up because it has fulfilled so much of the civil rights program which brought it together and because it has no program by which it can deal with the economic plight of the Negro masses. The answer lies in a new coalition program, organized around the cities, as that of the old coalition was organized around the Federal government.

old coalition was organized around the Federal government.

The liberals played a strategic role in uniting diverse groups in the New Deal coalitions which initiated the reforms of the last thirty-five years. At present the liberals are failing to perform a similar role in uniting the groups that comprise the cities.

For a more detailed treatment of the conflict of aims, goals, and interest, etc. of the civil rights coalition and Negro revolution see the last chapter of L. Bennett, Jr.'s book, Confrontation, Black and White.

He details the changing demands and goals which emerged within the movement with the advent of the sit-ins.

- How dissatisfied liberals became (both black and white) as the black masses began to participate.
- How strings were pulled and funds were manipulated to tone the movement down and to maintain liberals in leadership and control.
- Even how legitimate civil rights actions were turned into shams solely in order to placate the Negro masses.

A combination of all of these factors have in the recent past and will continue to feed the growth of national consciousness and identity among the oppressed Negro people. Likewise the early black nationalist groups, the best known of which is the so-called Black Muslims, and figures like the late Malcolm X have also influenced the Negroes perceptibly. The black nationalist teaches the Negro he is somebody and that his salvation depends upon the proud acceptance of his own blackness.

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During the last years and months before his untimely assassination, Malcolm X had a tremendous influence on the black community, especially the younger people. Malcolm X stressed the need for militancy and unity in the community; he directed attention to the poorest and most oppressed section of the black community. He was the first since the late Dr. DuBois to establish direct links with the new nations and movements in Africa. I believe a new analysis of his role and impact on the community is in order.

BLACK POWER

The following concepts defining the meaning of Black Power represent trends which have been developing over a period of years. They are the products of experiences in deeply racist areas. The increasingly close identification of SNCC and CORE with the poor and disinherited of the entire country began when SNCC moved from the campus to community organizing in 1961, and began to work with people who were very poor and very hungry.

Black Power--its approach to integration

Integration, color-blindness, is ultimately valid but we have to come to realize that we must live here and now. Integration is a subterfuge for white supremacy. No American social institution is truly color-blind. To be color-blind in a society where race is relevant is not to be free, but to be insensitive.

The cult of color-blindness is not only irrelevant, but seriously flawed. America couldn't simply be color-blind, it would have to become color-blind, and it would only become color-blind when we gave up our color. The white man, who presumably has no color would only have to give up his prejudices, we would have to give up our identity.

Thus we would usher in the great day with an act of complete self-denial and self-abasement. We would achieve equality by conceding racism's charge that our skin is an affliction; that our history is one long humiliation; that we are empty of distinctive traditions and any legitimate source of pride. We would cease to use the word "we" for we would concede that there is no "we" which can meaningfully refer to Negroes.

All this we were asked to do, and asked ourselves to do, at the very moment the movement was teaching us to love ourselves and making the name Negro a name to conjure with.

In the movement for equal rights we discovered a history-- had not the slaves rebelled tirelessly against their former slave masters as we now rebelled? Suddenly we found heroes from our own past--Gabriel Prosser, Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Harriet Tubman, Charles L. Redman, Sojourner Truth, Samuel E. Carnis, Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. DuBois.

Integration as presently defined heightens the sense of inferiority of black people. Integration speaks not at all to the problems of poverty, only to the problem of blackness. Integration today means that the black man who makes it leaves his black brother behind in the ghetto as fast as his new sports car will take him.

The integration which would end in assimilation has never been the prime goal of the masses. Historically it has been the small middle class which has demanded integration. The negro masses could not care less about integration and could not afford it even if they did care.

Integration, moreover, speaks to the problem of blackness in a despicable way. As a goal it has been based on the complete acceptance of the fact that in order to have a decent house or education blacks must move into a white neighborhood and send their children to a white school. This reinforces among both black and white the idea that white is automatically better and black is by definition inferior. Black people must have power to control their own school boards. In this case then, Negroes become equal in a way that means something and integration ceases to become a one-way street.

Only when the Negro community can muster enough political, economic, and professional strength to compete on somewhat equal terms will Negroes believe in the possibility of true cooperation and whites accept its necessity.

For integration, the Negro community needs to develop greater independence--a chance to run its own affairs and not to cave in whenever "the man" barks. If the black community succeeds in winning these rights it will respect and trust itself. But it cannot win the rights to human dignity without the ability to respect and cherish its own humanity.

Black Power--its approach to political action, community development, and pride in blackness

"Black Power" sometimes used interchangeably with "Black Consciousness" is a slogan; a political and a psychological technique for reaching and drawing together the most powerless group in America--the Negro poor.

Black Power is an attack upon the civil rights agencies whose solution of the race problem pre-supposes the disappearance of the ghetto but prescribes for this herculean task nothing more than equality of opportunity, and the one-by-one absorption of deserving Negroes into white society.

Black Consciousness places less stress on moving into white neighborhoods and putting more creative energy into changing the black ghettos from citadels of despair into monuments of hope. It means that all of the Harlems of the United States should be in the hands of the Harlemites--to create black politicians answerable to black constituencies and not to the white power structure downtown. Black Power is a black declaration of independence.

In such areas as Lowdnes where black men have a majority they will attempt to use it to exercise control. Where Negroes lack a majority, Black Power means proper representation and the sharing of control.

In Alabama, for example, Black Power will mean that if a Negro is elected sheriff he can end police brutality. If a black man is elected tax assessor he can collect and channel funds for the building of better roads and schools serving black people, thus advancing the move from political power into the economic arena.

Politically Black Power means what it has always meant-- the coming together of black people to elect representatives and to force those representatives to speak to their needs. It does not mean merely putting black faces into office.

Black power is the means for black poor to get together, define their needs in the interest of the total black community

Party, the Negro middle class, or the individuals designated to represent the black community.

Black people should be represented in places of power by people from the slums and cottonfields as well as members of the Negro middle-class. What is proposed is a new social field in which the black community would be the focus of black power, and which all individuals claiming to represent that community would have to seek their mandate from and recognize their dependence on the power bloc inside that community.

Today the political control of every ghetto is outside the ghetto. Black Power invites the black people to assume autonomy in the black community.

It means the creation of a power base from which black people can change statewide or nationwide patterns of oppression from pressure through strength instead of weakness. Carmichael says that one of the tragedies in the struggle against racism is that up to now there have been no national organizations that could speak to the growing militance of young, black people in the urban ghettos.

In some places such as Alabama, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, New Jersey independent organizing under the Black Panther symbol is in progress. The creation of a national Black Panther Party and the idea of independent political parties is sure to spread--both through the black belt areas of the South and the ghettos of the North.

Black Power means organizing black people so that they can have power commensurate with their numbers in their communities, states, and will wield power in the national government similar to what other groups have done and are presently doing.

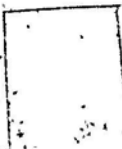
what other groups have done and are presently doing.

Black Leadership

The need for psychological equality is the reason why SNCC today believes that blacks must organize in the black community. Only black people can convey the revolutionary idea that black people are able to do things themselves. Only they can help create in the community an aroused and continuing black consciousness that will provide the basis for political strength. Black people must do things themselves. They must get poverty money that they will control and spend themselves. They must conduct tutorial programs themselves so that black children can identify with black people. This is one reason why Africa has such importance. The reality of black men who are leaders in their own nations give blacks everywhere a sense of possibility of power which they do not now have.

As long as white people are there doing the work, the idea is perpetuated that only white people can do things.

Negroes now are insisting on being their own spokesmen to white people in the movement. Black Power is saying that, instead of giving their time and energy and maybe their lives in the Negro community, it is now time and long overdue that whites turn to the essential task of working in the white community. It is there, SNCC points out, that the basic problem in race relations in America exists because the basic problem is white racism. It is the people who care, to attack that racism in its home ground, combating it and organizing white people in their community, labor unions, churches, etc.



Young Negroes learning to run their own show with white men supporting rather than dominating the various organizations should be interpreted as a sign of maturity.

Black Power is an attempt to instill pride in black Americans. One of the main tasks of Black Consciousness is to affirm the beauty of blackness. It sees beauty in black skin, and thick lips and broad nostrils, and kinky hair. It rids our vocabulary of "good hair", "high yellow", and our medicine cabinets of bleaching cream.

SNCC is saying to Negroes that they must eliminate from their thinking and feeling the patterns put there by a society that is essentially built on the concept of the superior origin of the white man. It is saying that Negroes need to reject the unconscious idea that what is white is better and because they do live in a society that holds that idea they will only begin to think and feel differently when they realize their own history. It calls upon black folk culturally.

Black Power and self defense concepts

Most people in SNCC have rejected the idea of non-violence as a philosophy and in most cases are becoming critical of it as a tactic. They are saying--We black folk have a deep need to defend ourselves. Indeed we have an obligation. Black Consciousness carries with it the right of self-defense.

sciousness carries with it the right of self-defense.

Frederick Douglass understood this more than a century ago. Reflecting on the time he turned on Covey, "cruel slave-breaker, and soundly thrashed him, Douglass writes, "This battle with Mr. Covey was the turning point in my career. I was a changed being after that fight. I was nothing before. I was a man now. I now resolved that however long I might remain a slave in form, the day had passed when I could be a slave in fact."

SNCC has not turned to advocating violence. Those who think this should realize that SNCC's emphasis on serious political organization is the opposite of advocacy of violence.

Effective independent political organization may be the last, best, and only hope of avoiding violence as a means of attacking the racial situation in America.

Black Power and the system

The foremost advocates of the Black Power concept maintain that for racism to die, a totally different system must be born.

Carmichael says that the society we seek to build among black people is not a capitalistic one. It is a society in which the spirit of the community and humanistic love prevail. We won't fight to save the existing society, in Viet Nam, or anywhere else. Our struggle for liberation is part of the great revolution sweeping the entire world--a revolution against all of the great white fathers in every nook and corner of this earth.

The colonies of the United States, and this includes the black ghettos within its borders--both North and South--must be liberated. The main highway to black liberation is through a revolution and galvanization that is strong throughout the nation. Nothing short of this will achieve victory. We are just going to work in the way we see fit and on goals we define--not for civil rights, but for all our human rights.

Negroes as a minority will continue to need allies. A Negro movement based primarily on self-interest is a necessity but a Negro movement based exclusively on self-interest is doomed to failure.

As Carmichael says, "Until recently the struggle had to focus on the simple right to vote and organize. Now we are to the point where we can think about what to do with the vote."

It is rather obvious that in a country where Negroes represent only eleven per cent of the population and even in the South where Negroes constitute a majority in a limited number of counties only, that there must someday be coalitions with someone.

The question SNCC is asking at this point is coalition where, when, and with whom. It is saying that for a meaningful coalition to take place at least two conditions must exist. The people who have been powerless must create a power of their own or else there will be no coalition but only a situation in which they will be absorbed and controlled by those who have all the power. There must also be groups with kindred interests with whom to make a coalition.

We hope to see eventually a coalition between poor blacks and poor whites. This is the only coalition which seems acceptable to us. And we see such a coalition as the major internal instrument of change in a society.

Especially SNCC says white people must get to the task of organizing poor white people of the South who are also oppressed but who have been by-passed by the civil rights movement and thus left prey to their fears and to white racist groups and their propaganda.

Propaganda:

Black Power advocates call for more to "pure and simple" participation in politics and black voting. It demands many things of black people--that they stop being ashamed of being black; that they move into a position where they can define what freedom is--what a white liberal is--what black nationalism is--what imperialism is--what power is. That they move to build a power base around the question of blackness, and that they move to build independent political, social, economic institutions that they can control and use as instruments of change.

The Negro lacks a network of unifying social traditions and this is why he must depend upon political action through color consciousness as the main instrument of solidarity. This solidarity entails a certain degree of separatism, but the separatism of a strengthened and enriched Negro community need be no more absolute than that, say, of a Jewish community. There is no reason, after all, why the Negro should not be able to live as most Americans do, in two worlds at once. One of them largely integrated and the other primarily separated.

SPLITS WITHIN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

It has been said and often repeated that it was the "Black Power slogan" which caused the split within the civil rights movement. However it should be clear by now that the cleavage within the movement goes much deeper than the slogan.

... differing attitudes and concepts which existed long before the slogan "Black Power" was projected on the Mississippi march last July.

The major reasons for the split in the movement are the existing differences around whether Negroes should remain a part of the old civil rights coalition and within the Democratic Party structure or whether the Negro masses should be called upon to develop more meaningful coalitions and move toward independent political action.

Whether Negroes should support or remain quiet about United States imperialism and the Viet Nam war or whether they should be called upon to resist the draft and help to bring the war to a halt.

Whether change should take place within the formal constitutional bounds of the racist capitalist system or whether change should be sought in the system itself.

Whether Negroes should pursue only passive non-violence in principle and tactics or whether non-violence should be supplemented with self-defense.

Whether Negroes should pursue solely an integrationist, or assimilationist goal as an immediate aim or whether or not the drive for total integration should be coupled with the building of black pride, consciousness, and unity buttressed by independent political and economic strength.

Differences in attitudes regarding leadership for the black people's movement and what role is to be played by the Negro masses, and the methods and tactics to be used in the struggle has also contributed towards the split.

Generally, the leadership of the Urban League and the NAACP have aligned themselves with the civil rights coalition and the leadership of CORE and SNCC have become the spokesmen for the Negro revolution. Although differing on the role of non-violence, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, under Rev. Martin Luther King, joins CORE and SNCC in orienting toward the Negro masses rejecting imperialism and raising basic questions about the system. But, the alignment has not completely hardened. The last convention of the NAACP saw a major battle in which delegates successfully prevented the leadership from condemning the notion of Black Power and the movement's spokesmen.

All five of these groups are heavily influenced by their own different constituencies and sources of support.

WEAKNESSES OF THE BLACK POWER CONCEPTS AS PROJECTED BY ITS LEADING ADVOCATES UP TO THIS POINT

One weakness is the lack of a commonly accepted definition of the meaning of the Black Power slogan (or concept). At present this slogan means different things to different people and its interpretation depends on who is interpreting it.

The lack of a program for the movement is another. This includes the tendency to rely upon self-help programs within the Negro community as the sole solution to the economic problems of the Negro masses. A program is the major factor around which Black Power can be realized in practice. It is through the relationship between the concrete, day-to-day needs and the long term goals that the masses will come to understand the need for

the economic and cultural fronts.

At present few Black Power advocates are able to make concrete suggestions when asked, "What should I do?" by activists in the various ghettos.

In spite of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Negro people are of the working class, and the foremost advocates of the Black Power concept are orienting in the direction of the masses there are already strong indications that the Negro movement may take the path of petit bourgeois Negro nationalism.

In fact, programmatic approaches, thus far, are basically petit bourgeois with the one exception of community cooperatives of which Carmichael says, "When we urge that black money go into black pockets, we mean the communal pocket. We want to see money go back into the community and used to benefit it. We want to see the cooperative concept applied in business and banking. We want to see black ghetto residents demand that an exploiting landlord or storekeeper sell them, at minimal cost, a building or a shop that they will own and improve cooperatively; they can back their demand with a rent strike, or a boycott, and a community so united behind them that no one else will move into the building or buy at the store."

Should it have been said that the working class is the only class that can be relied upon for peace with the Communists, just
None of the recent speeches, articles, or books dealing with Black Power and the problems of Afro-Americans within the United States has had a clear recognition, to my knowledge, of the existence of social classes within the United States or the need to develop a class viewpoint and consciousness among the American working people--Negro or white.

Kenneth Clark, in Dark Ghetto, says that the American Labor movement is basically a vehicle by which the working man seeks to realize his aspirations to be a boss. That is a refutation of the Marxian premise of categorical cleavages between economic classes. Carmichael states that Negroes are poor only because they are black.

To successfully combat the potential danger of the black movement developing along petit bourgeois lines it is necessary that the class viewpoint and interest of the working masses at all times remain decisive. To inject such consciousness into the Negro movement it will be necessary that its leading cadres be armed with an understanding of the national question from a working class point of view.

Such a class understanding is also necessary to the Negro movement as a guideline for determining which class of white America has interests which are basically opposed to theirs, and to determine which classes can be looked upon as potential allies in a joint struggle based upon their own self-interest, even though they will still be infected with notions of white supremacy which are common to all white people in America regardless of their social class.

THE ROLE OF THE PARTY IN RELATION TO THIS WING OF THE NEGRO
PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

Marxism must view nationalism within the given historical setting, and decides what attitudes we should take toward it.

Nationalism in itself is not necessarily a negative development. It can be very positive depending upon who raises it, in what period, and what class interest it serves.

This growth of Negro nationalism is a reflection of Negro political maturity and it poses many new questions of theoretical and practical concern for the Negro freedom movement and for our Party. It poses a need for re-examining and up-dating our theoretical position on the Negro Question in the United States.

The national liberation struggles of today can no longer be appraised from the viewpoint of the bourgeois revolutions of the old world before World War I and the Russian October Revolution. Prior to that time the National question constituted a part of the world bourgeois democratic revolution; since then the national question has become a part of the world working class socialist revolution.

Therefore, national liberation movements must now exercise an independent role which objectively favors peace and the struggle against imperialism and the capitalist monopolies.

The struggle for political independence must enhance the struggle for economic and social well-being. Therefore, the national liberation movements must pay close attention to economic questions and their solution. They must elaborate both long term and short term economic programs and national liberation movements must combat imperialist and capitalist ideology among the masses; challenge red-baiting, and popularize scientific socialism.

Need for a class approach toward the oppressed Negro people

For many years the socialist party held that the Negro question was solely a class issue, and it did not especially concern itself with such national outrages against the Negro people as lynchings, and other manifestations of jim-crow. On the other hand, we in the Party, tended to go to the opposite extreme. For a period of time, in theory in not in practice, we tended to think only in terms of a Negro nation and to underplay the class aspects of the Negro question. 7/6/00 7/6/00 7/6/00

The class composition of the Negro people is of decisive importance in determining their ideology and actions and must therefore constantly be borne in mind. The Party cannot work at maximum efficiency in the Negro field unless, together with questions of race and nation, it has a clear line and a full understanding of the importance of the class question to the Negro people.

As the Negro people reach greater political maturity they progressively differentiate themselves along class lines. It is now high time, therefore, that the Party overcome its traditional and harmful one-sidedness in its work and build a balanced Negro program. One in which the questions of race, class, and nation have their proper roles.

Along with the recent growth of black consciousness, there has also been in the past few years a growing consciousness of the existence of the poor within the United States and you might say a "poor people's consciousness" among the poor, and they have moved to start organizing.

The need is to further develop this consciousness and to link them up with class consciousness and to show both, why people are poor in the first place (especially in the richest country in the world). And also why a more equitable social system (Socialism) is needed in order to eliminate unemployment and poverty within the United States.

National liberation movements and oppressed people all over the world historically have put forth their own political slogans and demands. Black power is the slogan of the most politically advanced leaders of the oppressed Negro people. It is around this slogan that they seek to express both their political independence of monopoly capitalism and the organization of the Negro masses against their oppression.

The various substitute and counter slogans, i.e. "people's power," "human power," "black and white unity," etc. which have arisen in response to the "black power" slogan are no substitute for the black people's own slogans and should not be posed against their slogan.

People's power, human power and other such slogans have legitimacy only within the framework of a prior recognition of the right of the oppressed Negro people to further their own independent organizations and development and the need for coalition relationships among all groupings whose common interest is served through joint struggle against monopoly capital and imperialism.

In the interest of international working class unity and solidarity it is the responsibility and obligation of the working class and progressive forces of the oppressor nation to support such slogans and demands. It is the primary responsibility of the working class and progressive forces within oppressed Negro people's movement to put forth the slogans and the demands for unity with the working class of the oppressor nations.

In this regard the lack of emphasis now placed upon integration by the black power advocates, should be interpreted only as applying to national and community development of the Negro masses and not to the American society as such. Economically speaking the Negro people are not only reliant upon, but are bound to the American economy as a whole. The struggle for Negro inclusion into the trade unions, the various shops the schools of higher learning, the political life of the country, etc. constitute the very basis upon which the struggle for unity between the oppressed Negro people and the broader American working class and progressive movements can be realized in practice.

The fact that the Negro people are primarily of the poor and of the working class means that the struggle for Negro liberation therefore, should not be directed against the white working class and the white poor who are also exploited but against the ruling class which exploits the poor Negro and white workers in common.

Within this framework, however, the Negro worker and the unemployed have every right to expect that no racist or discriminatory bars be placed in their path as they seek full employment. Wherever any such anti-working class restrictions exist the Negro people have every right to organize their strength to level such bars. In doing so, they will be acting in the interests of the working class unity and in the best interest of the working class as a whole.

Against this background the question of building coalition relations and alliances should be approached as an on-going development, flowing from day-to-day struggles rather than through years of completely isolated separate struggles which will be followed by the sudden coalescing (on a certain date) of all the progressive, exploited and oppressed. Coalitions are built in struggle.

Marxism-Leninism should help to put more flesh and bone on the black power slogan, put more political and theoretical life into it, help to give it a Marxist-Leninist interpretation.

It should help to develop programs around which black power can be realized in practice--broaden and deepen its positive but too general concepts--offering a guideline around which the black masses can be mobilized in day-to-day struggles to improve their conditions of life.

It should help to impart to the movement not only class consciousness and class pride, but it should also work to bring trade-unionists from the ghetto and the farm workers into leadership of the movement. (There is a need for this especially in dealing with union discrimination rather than leaving this leadership to the petit bourgeois elements in the black community.)

Organizationally

The Party should have a thorough examination of its forces and finances and release cadre (especially Negro cadres) to work more closely with the black movement in the heart of the ghettos,

A well thought out political and economic program should be developed and such a program should be buttressed with basic educational and ideological programs designed to reach and influence the ghettos' leading activists.

Discussion groups and classes should be started right in the heart of the black community.

Discussion guides should be prepared and teachers trained. Special attention should be given to training persons coming out of and well acquainted with the language, moods, and tones, of the black masses.

We should plan toward establishing book stores in the heart of the ghettos and publish our own short pamphlets dealing with both current issues and theoretical questions facing this wing of the Negro movement.

We should aim to make it possible (financially) for some of our Negro comrades to be on the scene carrying out this program on a day-to-day basis.

THE NEXT SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE ON THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS AND AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM WILL DISCUSS THESE QUESTIONS:

1. The Civil War was a democratic revolution, led by the capitalists. With the defeat of slavery, reconstruction brought an upsurge of revolutionary democracy to the South. This upsurge was beheaded and smashed by the former slave owners and the Northern capitalists who betrayed the revolutionary gains of the Civil War. This betrayal by the northern capitalists coincided with the emergence of the United States as an imperialist nation. Since that time the Dixiecrat system has been a Major pillar of U.S. monopoly capitalism and imperialism, giving it a substantial economic, political and ideological base for control of the nation. Would you agree or disagree with this estimation?
2. The 17th National Convention defined the Negro people in the following way: "Though a specially oppressed part of the American nation, the Negroes in the United States are not constituted as a separate nation. They have the characteristics of a racially distinctive people or nationality. They are a component part of the whole American nation which is itself a historically derived national formation, an amalgam of more or less well differentiated nationalities." If we would agree that the Negro question is not one of an oppressed nation fighting for national-state sovereignty does this diminish the revolutionary import of the Negro people's struggle in the United States?
3. The slogan of the Negro-Labor Alliance is quite often used. Is this a correct slogan? Does such an alliance exist? Can it be developed if it does not exist? How would you characterize or sloganize the basic coalition necessary to win Negro freedom as the essential path toward Socialism by the United States working class?

class?

4. The report will stress and give major emphasis to the struggle for Negro rights as the main effort in the struggle against white chauvinism. Is this a correct approach?

5. It is said that we do not have chauvinists in the Party, but that we do have people who are influenced by chauvinist ideas. Is this correct?

6. Can white workers be won to a struggle for Negro rights while they still retain their chauvinist ideas?

7. What are your ideas about the situation in San Francisco where the Labor movement opposed the fair hiring ordinance and supported the effort to nullify the contracts won by Ad Hoc Committee in the Palace sit-in struggles?

8. The program of action will center on the following issues:

1. The fight for jobs both against the discriminatory practices of unions and employers as well as for the creation of new jobs.

2. The fight for Negro representation in the Municipal elections in 1967, and for at least one new Negro congressman from this area by 1968.

3. Community and related issues:

--Civil Rights

--Education

--Housing

Do you feel that these are the key issues for mass struggle?

9. The Alameda County election results pose a seeming contradiction:

In 1964 the county-wide vote on proposition 14, for the repeal of the Rumford Fair Housing law was 60% for repeal and 40% against repeal.

In the 1966 elections, in the midst of a so-called white "backlash", Rumford received 50% of the votes in the same area. The report from the vote recount showed that in his main base, the 17th district, that in each precinct from 30 to 40 voters did not vote for the office of state senator. This would indicate that for the entire county Rumford received a very strong vote from white workers. How would you explain this contradiction of the failure to vote in the 17th of such a large number of people and the relative high vote in the white areas for the author of the Rumford law?

10. In Congress an all-out effort is being made to destroy Adam Clayton Powell politically, and in San Francisco the national War on Poverty office is attempting to seriously discredit the local council of the War on Poverty. This council is the only one in any major city which is controlled in its majority by the poverty area people, the director is Negro. Those making the attacks claim that their only concern is corruption in office. What really is involved in these attacks?

11. What is the relationship of racism to the present foreign policy of the Johnson Administration and the ultra-right?

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B. Other Communist Groups

1. Plans, strategy, Party line and the like made at district and lower level meetings, including expressions of leaders and other functionaries

ST
Mrs. JEAN KRAMER, Executive Director of the Northern California Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (NCCPFB) [redacted] had offered the services of this Committee to California Negro Assemblyman WILLIE BROWN to help persons who were arrested during the rioting in San Francisco in the Hunters Point and Fillmore areas during September, 1966.

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SF T-9, 11/1/66

✓ See appendix for characterization of the NCCPFB.

The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) in the East Bay held an educational at 2005 Milvia Street, Berkeley, California, for the purpose of hearing taped recordings of MALCOLM X on the subject of "Black Power and Permanent Revolution". A series of three educational classes was scheduled to be held by the YSA. NAT WEINSTEIN, chairman of the Berkeley YSA, spoke about MALCOLM X and the progress of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) on the Negro question. The first session was held October 7, 1966.

SF T-10, 10/11/66

✓ See appendix for characterization of the YSA.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the U. S. pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The second session of educational forums sponsored by the YSA was held at 127 Dwinelle Hall on the University of California at Berkeley (UCB) campus on November 11, 1966. Those present listened to a tape-recorded speech by MALCOLM X entitled "Message to the Grass Roots".

The third session of educational classes sponsored by the YSA was held at 127 Dwinelle Hall, UCB, on November 18, 1966, to hear a taped speech by MALCOLM X entitled "The Ballot or the Bullet".

A fourth educational class sponsored by the YSA was held at 127 Dwinelle Hall, UCB, on December 2, 1966, to hear taped recordings by MALCOLM X on the subject "Prospects for Freedom for the Negro in 1967".

SF T-10, 12/4/66

A meeting of members of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was held in Chicago, Illinois, on October 28, 1966. The members holding this discussion were reported as ~~TED PEARSON~~, ~~FRANKLIN ALEXANDER~~, and ~~JAMES PEAKE~~. During this discussion ~~ALEXANDER~~ said that in the San Francisco Bay Area the only DuBois club which is functioning actively is a Negro youth club operating in Oakland, California. He identified organizers of this club as ~~JOEY HARRIS~~, ~~CAROLYN BLACK~~ and ~~CASSANDRA WEAVER~~. ~~ALEXANDER~~ stated these three persons, together with a group called "The Sons of SOUL" from Merritt Junior College, Oakland, California, operated a freedom school during a recent boycott of Oakland schools. According to ~~ALEXANDER~~, these persons were involved in stimulating riot activity recently in Oakland, California, along with ~~MARGARET LIMA~~, daughter of NCDCCP organizer ~~MICKEY LIMA~~, and friends of hers.

SF T-11, 11/2/66

See appendix for characterization of the DCA.

The National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC) distributed in the San Francisco Bay Area a letter announcing the intention of the HUAC to investigate uprisings of Negroes in Negro ghettos of the north. The letter charged that a preliminary investigation had already been under way. It was charged that any investigation by the HUAC could only "muddy" the understanding of these problems and dangerously feed discriminatory practices with its prejudgment of "red agitation" as the cause of the uprisings. It asked the recipients of the letter to join the NCAHUAC and to make contributions to the organization.

A leaflet enclosed with the letter stated, "We don't want HUAC in Hunters Point or Oakland and call upon Congressmen and public officials to stop the HUAC announced investigation of uprisings in northern ghettos." The leaflet charged that the Committee was led by white southern racists conducting an inquisition in black ghettos which would be farcical on its face if it were not so explosive. The statement is quoted as follows:

"HUAC's history -- as a bulwark of segregation providing libel-free accusations against such civil rights leaders as the Rev. Martin Luther King, as the conductor of the ill-fated KKK 'investigation' that failed to deal seriously with the problems of Southern violence -- suggests that its investigation can only be a rigged investigation whose purpose is to feed the white backlash. Serious analyses of the social discontent that has caused the uprisings is needed by our society, not the superficial labelling that attributes them as the product of 'subversive' ideas. Any HUAC hearings will only muddy American understanding of our problems and explosively fan the flames of revolt in the urban ghettos.

"Although we may have disagreements among us over the tactics and strategy of the fight for racial justice in America, we are united in our belief that no governmental body such as HUAC should meddle with the civil rights movement's right of self-determination."

SF T-12, 11/11/66

See appendix for characterization of the NCAHUAC.

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

A. San Francisco Riots, September, 1966

The San Mateo CP Club held a meeting on October 7, 1966, at 352 Bancroft Way, Pacifica, California. At this meeting there was a discussion among the club members of the rioting in San Francisco and the part the CP had in the rioting. It was indicated that there were very few CP people actually engaged in the Hunters Point rioting but were on the fringes of the rioting. Club member ANNIE EDWARDS said it was regrettable that the police shot an unarmed youth. However, club member BILL CULLEN stated he believed the parents should raise their children to respect and observe the law and this should have been done. Other club members, however, disagreed with this viewpoint. EDWARDS stated she had gone to the funeral of the boy who was killed and stated there was a Negro man at the funeral who had told others he had given several Negro youths wine and whiskey so they would start racial incidents and he could take advantage of the rioting by looting stores and then selling the loot.

SF T-7, 10/10/66

A meeting of the Miscellaneous Industrial Club of the CP of San Francisco was held at 1298 Haight Street, San Francisco, on October 11, 1966. During this meeting the chairman of the club, WALTER STACK, said he would like to hear comments from members regarding what they thought about the recent racial riots in September, 1966, at Hunters Point. STACK told those present he thought Mayor JOHN F. SHELLEY had done a good job and it took a lot of "guts" for the mayor to make the speech on television regarding the riots. STACK said through his contacts with CP leaders it had been decided the Party would not go out into the riot area and become involved. He stated the County Committee would draft a statement regarding the riot situation. STACK made the remark that it takes something such as the riots in Los Angeles and San Francisco before officials will really try to do something for underprivileged people. There was a general discussion concerning STACK'S remarks and many of the club members agreed with what he had to say.

SF T-13, 10/27/66

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION
AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL
AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A meeting of the CP Political Committees of Sonoma and Marin Counties was held at 1700 Chapman Lane, Petaluma, California, on October 13, 1966. ROSCOE PROCTOR was chairman of this meeting and he advised those present that there was a new organization known as the Committee for New Politics (CNP) being set up in San Francisco. He remarked that he thought this organization made a big mistake by not having Negro and labor support. There was a discussion concerning support for former Governor EDMUND G. BROWN and PROCTOR told those present he tried to get the CNP not to support an anti-BROWN resolution because the Negro and labor groups would be supporting Governor BROWN in his election and the CNP needs these two groups to have political power in California. MORRIS RAPPOPORT stated the CNP should organize with Negroes and labor and not wait until they were organized and then ask Negroes and labor to come in and join them.

SF T-3, 10/13/66

There is a Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) chapter at San Jose, California. The leadership of this CORE chapter has changed considerably. The chapter has a large membership list, however most of the people on this list have not been active with CORE since they signed on as members. The effective membership numbers approximately 25 persons and most of the members are Negroes. There are CP members in the CORE chapter but they do not figure in the leadership of the group. They are present only to capitalize on the successes of the organization but do not wish to be responsible for tactical failures in the group. There are six CP members in the San Jose area that belong to the San Jose Chapter of CORE.

SF T-14, 11/19-21/66

It was reported that ALBERT J. LIMA, ROSCOE PROCTOR and MORRIS RAPPOPORT were scheduled to meet at the home of ROSCOE PROCTOR in Oakland, California, to discuss Negro matters, and particularly the subject of "black power" and the part the Negro community can play in the CP peace program and what

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LHJ/sea

relationship the CP should have with the new organization called Committee for New Politics concerning Negro and peace matters.

SF T-3, 11/7/66

At a meeting of the Fillmore Club of the CP of San Francisco held November 30, 1966, it was announced that Fillmore Club members JUANITA WHEELER and AL THIBODEAUX had been involved in civil rights work, working with the San Francisco Chapter of CORE and the Freedom House in the Fillmore District.

SF T-15, 12/1/66

There is a chapter of the Southern Alameda County CORE (SACORE) in Alameda, California. JAMES FORSYTHE, a CP member in Alameda County, is chairman of this organization and he was promoting "Negro History Week" in the Hayward, California area.

SF T-3, 12/16/66

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the advocate of "black power", appeared at Roosevelt High School, San Jose, California, on November 19, 1966. SOAPY MENDOZA, a San Jose minority group leader, read a prepared speech praising CARMICHAEL'S cause. CARMICHAEL'S speech was short, lasting about 20 minutes, but it was reported he spoke concisely and directly. His most dynamic comment was one in which he referred to his attitude toward his Selective Service Board. He commented he would welcome some time in prison during which he could read and prepare for his future role in the cause he now pursues. A question and answer period followed CARMICHAEL'S speech but the questions put forward by what appeared to be people sympathetic to CARMICHAEL'S ideas were answered by CARMICHAEL in a bragging manner. The audience was quite well balanced racially and there did not appear to be an overwhelming majority of either Negroes or whites. Many members of the San Jose State College Students for a Democratic Society were present.

SF T-16, 11,19/66

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"STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY is an association of young people on the left..., one bringing together liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and faculty. It feels the urgency to put forth a radical, democratic program counterposed to authoritarian movements both of Communism and the domestic Right.

Preamble, SDS
Constitution"

During the 1965 National Convention of the SDS, the Preamble of the Constitution was amended to eliminate "counterposed to authoritarian movements both of Communism and the domestic Right."

SDS Worklist
No. 14, 7/28/65

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE
FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, contains the following on pages 131-132 concerning the Northern California Committee for Protection of Foreign Born:

1. Cited as a "regional" organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. "The Committee on Un-American Activities found that in early publications the local affiliates frankly identified themselves as chapters of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; the representation of themselves as independent groups came only after enactment of the Internal Security Act which would have required them, as affiliates, to register as Communist-front organizations.

"Control of the local organizations *** was made possible primarily by virtue of the fact that the leaders of the local groups were Communist Party members and therefore subject to the discipline of the party.*** The local affiliates *** were actually little more than administrative staffs, whose purpose it was to implement the program of the Communist Party in their respective areas."

The Northern California Committee for Protection of Foreign Born had headquarters in San Francisco. "The executive secretary was Mrs. GRACE PARTRIDGE, a former member of the State central committee of the Communist Party of California."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1182 on Communist Political Subversion, August 16, 1957, pp 86, 87, 33, 34 and 64)

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

SF 100-53902

January 26, 1967

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
 RACIAL MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Report of SA [REDACTED]
 dated and captioned as above
 at San Francisco, California

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b7c

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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Page 183 ~ Duplicate;

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE LOS ANGELES	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 1/30/67	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/17 - 1/23/67
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY GORDON M. SIM	TYPED BY gnt
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA GORDON M. SIM dated 10/28/66 at Los Angeles.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being furnished San Diego and San Francisco for information in view of their mutual interest in matters concerned in this report.

This report is classified ~~confidential~~ because data received from confidential informants utilized therein tends to identify sources of continuing value and could possibly compromise their future effectiveness.

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED W66rapp	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE JST	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
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Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations	
Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, CNI, OSI, SDC, SRE;		
Request Recd.	ORD, IAD		
Date Fwd.	2/9/67		
How Fwd.	RIS		
By	DMW/ci		

69 FEB 14 1967

LA 100-66078

The Special Agent who obtained the four-page PLP leaflet on 10/12/66 was SA JOHN S. DETLOR.

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will submit reports on a quarterly basis.

INFORMANTS

<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
✓ LA T-1 [redacted]	[redacted]
✓ LA T-2 [redacted]	
✓ LA T-3 [redacted]	
✓ LA T-4 [redacted]	
✓ LA T-5 [redacted]	
✓ LA T-6 [redacted]	
✓ LA T-7 Anonymous (Leaflet was pushed under Reception Room door of the Los Angeles Division by unknown individual)	100-66078-996

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To characterize JOHN WESLEY HARRIS, JR.

✓ LA T-11
[redacted]
[redacted] Former PSI

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
1 - OSI, NAFB, San Bernardino (RM)
1 - NISO, San Diego (RM)

Report of: GORDON M. SIM
Date: 1/30/67

Office: Los Angeles, California

Field Office File #: 100-66078

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP) efforts in racial matters through W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs, and SCDCP plans and strategy in helping those in the Negro and Mexican-American communities set forth. Activities of Communist Party, USA, Marxist-Leninist (CP, USA, M-L) and the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) set forth.

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downgrading and
declassification~~

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DETAILS:

All meetings described herein were held in Los Angeles, California, unless otherwise indicated.

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

(A) COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CP, USA)

(1) SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT COMMUNIST PARTY (SCDCP)

LA T-1 (9/26/66)

The Communist Party (CP) Southwest Regional Mexican-American Conference was held on September 10-11, 1966, at 3875 City Terrace Drive. During this conference, one of the reports outlined the many failures of the party in relation to the Mexicans, not only in recruiting, but in preparing leaders for the party. It was felt that Mexican membership in the party was very weak, even though recruiting people into the party was easier today. It was also felt that there was a need for a Spanish column in the "People's World" (PW). A great deal of emphasis was placed on the need to educate the party on the Mexican-American question.

The PW is a weekly West Coast Communist newspaper.

LA T-2 (10/6/66)

At the September 11, 1966, session of the Southwest Regional Mexican-American Conference held at 3875 City Terrace Drive, one of the main topics of discussion was the many problems the Mexican-American people in the southwest face in their daily lives and how to mobilize that sector of the community politically. It was proposed that there be an election of a regional chairman and secretary in order to start the formation of a regional body to deal with the question of the CP's work in the mobilization of the Mexican-American community.

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LA T-3 (9/21/66)

At a meeting of Communist leaders held on September 20, 1966, at 1254 Manchester Boulevard, one of those present said he would like to see more Negro and Mexican-American representation in the various left-wing activities; that there was a tragic lack of interest shown by these two factions.

(2) COMMUNIST PARTY YOUTH MATTERS

LA T-4 (12/8/66)

One of the leading members of the SCDCP recently requested one of the CP members to write an article dealing with the youth aspect of a report to be presented to the District Convention of the SCDCP. This individual was requested to pay particular attention to the question of Negro recruitment.

(3) W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS
(SEE APPENDIX FOR W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA)

LA T-5 (10/7/66)

At a Steering Committee meeting of the Los Angeles Du Bois Club (LADBC) held at 1027 West Kensington Road, on September 27, 1966, the chairman of the LADBC gave a report on the National Coordinating Meeting of the Du Bois Clubs. He said that one of the things he wanted to accomplish was to put the focus of the Du Bois Clubs on Negro youth; that he wanted to organize a basic Marxist class for Negro youth.

(B) OTHER COMMUNIST GROUPS

(1) COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, MARXIST-LENINIST (CP, USA, M-L)
(SEE APPENDIX)

LA T-6 (10/14/66)

Source advised that ELMO J. BIRKLEY, male Negro, age 15, was shot and killed by a Los Angeles Police Department officer during the early morning hours of October 14, 1966. Source stated the police chased BIRKLEY in a stolen automobile on a high-speed chase

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on the Hollywood Freeway. When the car became involved in a minor accident, BIRKLEY leaped out of the car, reached toward his belt as if reaching for a gun, and was shot with a shotgun. Source stated that BIRKLEY was on probation. Source also advised that top police officials were concerned over possible racial violence as a result of the shooting.

LA T-7 (10/14/66)

Source furnished a CP, USA, M-L leaflet concerning the shooting of BIRKLEY, mentioned above, a copy of which follows:

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WATTS YOUTH MURDERED BY POLICE

Elmo Jerry Birkley, 15 years old, who lived here in Watts at 8211 John Avenue, was murdered last night by police as he drove on the Hollywood Freeway in North Hollywood. The youth was unarmed and yet he was blown to pieces by a shotgun fired by a racist cop. This murder represents the third murder of an innocent worker in California in the last six months.

The excuse used by the cops for this latest murder was that young Mr. Birkley was driving an "allegedly" stolen automobile. It has not been confirmed that the auto being driven was actually stolen, but even if it was, does driving a stolen automobile warrant the death penalty? Of course not! This killing is another brutal murder by the racist imperialist police. The police are hired killers and thugs of the bourgeoisie whose job it is to beat down the workers and intimidate the poor as much as possible. Just as with Leonard Deadwyler last Spring, or Matthew Johnson in San Francisco last month, the police murdered Elmo Birkley of Watts for being poor, not for any crime he committed against society.

How many more murders by the bourgeois police must there be before they learn their lesson? The people must organize into armed defense units in order to protect themselves from the brutality of the police. The reactionary violence of the ruling class and its police must be met with the revolutionary violence of the people. The only way that the workers can liberate themselves is if they arm with guns and organize for their own defense. The organized, unified strength of the people, led by the Party of the proletariat, the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) is invincible.

PROTEST THE POLICE MURDER OF YOUR NEIGHBOR, ELMO JERRY BIRKLEY.
ATTEND THE PROTEST MEETING TONIGHT, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1966, AT 8 PM,
AT THE PEOPLE'S VOICE BOOK STORE AND READING ROOM, 9122 SOUTH COMPTON
AVENUE, LOS ANGELES (CORNER OF S. COMPTON AVENUE AND E. 92ND STREET).
TELEPHONE: 569-2542.

Stop police brutality; support and join the People's Armed
Defense Groups. OPPOSE REACTIONARY VIOLENCE WITH REVOLUTIONARY
VIOLENCE.

Issued by the Communist Party, U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), Los Angeles
Branch.

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(2) PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR A
MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY (POC)
(SEE APPENDIX)

LA T-8 (10/30/66)

Source furnished the following leaflet entitled, "The Fraud of the Elections" which was issued by the POC and distributed in the Jordan Downs Housing Project, 9800 Grape Street, in the Watts area of Los Angeles:

"The time has come again for the American circus called elections.

"Two years have passed since we last chose which of the politicians was going to oppress and exploit us. Now, after two years of robbery and murder, they pretend to allow us to judge and express our dissatisfaction by trading Tweedly Dee for Tweedly Dum.

"This year, the so called candidates have been especially cynical. They don't even try to present a difference on the important issues. Of the most important events in this period has been the revolts of the Negro masses in Los Angeles and the Bay Area. These phoney candidates have agreed not to mention the Negro movement. Why? Because their positions are identical - Use the Troops, - Use the Shotgun, - Use the club. They won't discuss the Negro movement because as loyal representatives of the ruling class both Brown and Regan are committed to the job of crushing, buying out and subverting the Negro peoples movement. Concerning the dirty imperialist war against the people of Viet Nam, both Brown and Regan are committed to carrying out the aggression against and the slaughter of the brave Viet Namese people. In fact, there is not and there cannot be any difference in these candidates. They try to fool the people with the farce of 'extremists and moderates'. The last time this gimmick was used, it ended with L.B. Johnson doing all the things that Goldwater talked about. The fact is, that the most honest capitalist election is at best an opportunity for the people to choose who will oppress and exploit them. Today, we don't even have that choice. The 'candidates' are hand picked behind closed doors and then presented to the people as a choice.

"It is not conceivable that a criminal ruling class that is the direct decedents of the slave masters would place in the hands of the people any meaningful weapon to use against them. The spokesmen for the ruling class tell us that the vote is a weapon in the hands of the people. They lie. Voting in present day America is a powerful weapon in the hands of the ruling class. Through an analysis of the vote, the officials are able to gauge the consciousness of the workers and plan accordingly. By giving the people the ballot, the ruling class hopes to make all social and class struggles revolve around the ballot box where they are sure to win. Just as life showed the people the real role of the cops, life is slowly showing the people the real role of the elections.

"The revisionist, so called 'Communist Party' of the USA has gone all out in the effort to aid the ruling class in the vote fraud. Just as they urged the people to vote for Johnson as the 'lesser evil', so now they support Brown. Facts are stubborn things - just as Johnson is the butcher of South East Asia, so Brown is the hangman of Watts. There is no lesser evil today. There is only the people against the giant monopoly capitalists and their filthy political representatives. The Communist Party, USA, has long ago proven itself to be traitor to the American and international revolutionary movement. Now, in addition to their crime of supporting L.B. Johnson for president, they are supporting Brown as 'more sensible and moderate'. The CPUSA is merely the loyal opposition of the imperialists inside the working class movement. The job of these phoney communists in this election is to drum up such fear of the fascist Regan, that the people will forget about the equally fascist Brown. The CPUSA tries hard to make it seem that the working class can make progress and social change at the polls. What the people need today is their liberation, and no people have ever voted their way to freedom. The ballot box is the bimmick to keep the workers involved in capitalist politics, it is the method of preventing the development of an independent party of the working class. The revisionist 'communists' by supporting and running candidates in these elections are continuing to carry out their sabotage from inside the working class movement.

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"We are offered the ballot as an alternative for real struggle. The people understand that what is good for the ruling class is bad for the people. POC believes that this understanding must be applied to the elections. As we have in the past ten years, we condemn the elections as a fraud, and call upon the people 'Don't waste your ballot - Don't cast it'.

"We must be prepared for an intensification of fascist reaction when the elections are over. No matter which of the fascist twins win - it is clear that the murders and beatings will continue. The only vote that this ruling class understands is the detailed political organization of the workers in pursuit of a policy of open organized confrontation.

"DON'T VOTE - ORGANIZE

"(ISSUED BY THE PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE. For further information write Vanguard, Box 72306, Watts Station, Los Angeles, Calif."

(3) PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)
(SEE APPENDIX)

LA T-9 (10/7/66)

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Source advised that JOHN HARRIS had been recently indicted by a Los Angeles County Grand Jury on a charge of criminal syndicalism. Source advised HARRIS had telephonically contacted STOKELY CARMICHAEL of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) on October 6, 1966, concerning CARMICHAEL's possible public appearance in Los Angeles to speak for the recently formed "Committee to Defend John Harris" (CDJH).

LA T-10 (7/27/66)

Source advised that as of that date JOHN WESLEY HARRIS, JR. was a member of the Los Angeles Club, PLP.

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LA T-11 (10/12/66)

Source advised he had learned that CARMICHAEL was coming to Los Angeles in the near future to make speeches in the Watts area. CARMICHAEL's expenses are to be paid by the CDJH, and funds raised by his speeches are to be divided equally between the CDJH and SNCC.

LA T-12 (10/10/66)

Source advised that at a meeting of the Negro Commission, SCDGP, in Los Angeles, the Vice-Chairman of the SCDGP stated that "old" criminal syndicalism laws, originally passed against the Communists, were being used to stop Negroes from speaking. He gave as examples the arrest of STOKELY CARMICHAEL in the South and JOHN HARRIS in Los Angeles. He stated that since this was the case, the CP must back HARRIS in his court fight and must do everything to obtain the support of as many organizations as possible. The Vice-Chairman of the SCDGP stated further that the CP would work through the Southside Citizens Defense Committee (see Appendix) or through the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights (see Appendix) to help HARRIS. This meeting was held on October 6, 1966.

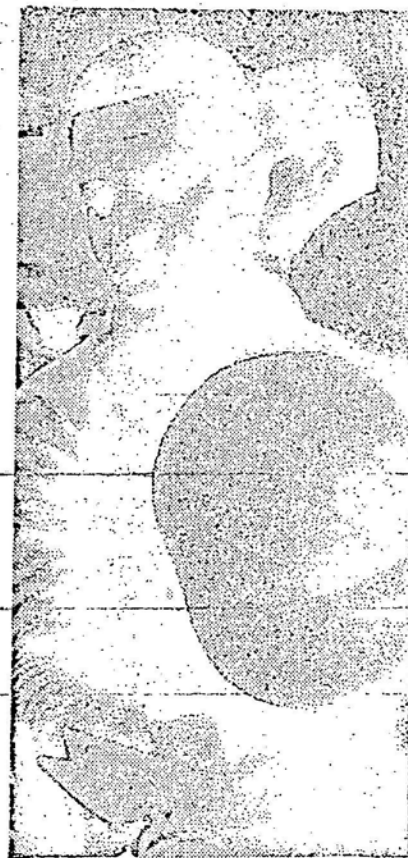
On October 12, 1966, a Special Agent of the FBI obtained a four-page PLP leaflet concerning JOHN HARRIS at a literature booth on the University of California at Los Angeles campus. A copy of this leaflet follows:

SUPPORT BLACK REVOLUTIONARIES

*Defend John Harris
arrested for "criminal syndicalism"*

John Harris, Progressive Labor Party organizer in Watts faces 1 to 14 years as a "criminal syndicalist". His crime -- passing out leaflets at the Deadwyler inquest pointing out that the cop who shot Deadwyler was a murderer and moreover denouncing the system that creates such a "legal" murder.

At 5:30 p.m. September 20, 1966, six plainclothesmen broke into the house where John Harris lives. Although claiming to have a warrant they refused to show it. They handcuffed John Harris and then ransacked the apartment throwing things around, ripping down pictures and causing other damage. They carried off boxes of personal property of the three people who live there as "evidence". They also took PL literature that was stored there. For example, they took 250 copies of the new PL magazine, copies of Spark and Free Student. They also took books and notes for classes, all this as "evidence".



WHAT IS "CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM?"

The criminal syndicalism

law states that it is illegal to speak or leaflet so as to advocate "change in industrial ownership" or "effect political change" by so-called criminal means. A Grand Jury meeting secretly apparently decided this is what John was doing, and set the bail at \$15,000.

Criminal syndicalism is an anti-labor law passed in 1919 and was last used to convict farm labor organizers in the Sacramento Valley in 1937. The law is meant to deal with revolutionary socialists and is a candid reflection of the undemocratic essence of a class

divided society. Like the anti-riot portions of the proposed Civil Rights law, it is intended as a weapon against those who call for fundamental change. Such was John's offense. He questioned the "justice" of the Deadwyler hearing and advocated revolutionary solutions. In so doing he was in perfect tune with the mood of the black community of South Los Angeles. Clearly, a "criminal syndicalist" is someone who represents a view dangerous to America's rulers. ("You have your freedom until you need it," says Bertrand Russell.)

WHO IS JOHN HARRIS?

John Harris was born and raised

in Birmingham, Alabama, the son of a steelworker. From his earliest years, he was exposed to systematic racial oppression and injustice and he early determined to fight it. When in 1960 the freedom riders came to town he joined with them. Later in college he became chairman of the Howard University chapter of SNCC. In 1964 he left school to work in the South where he was project director for SNCC in Sunflower County, Mississippi -- stronghold of the Ku Klux Klan.

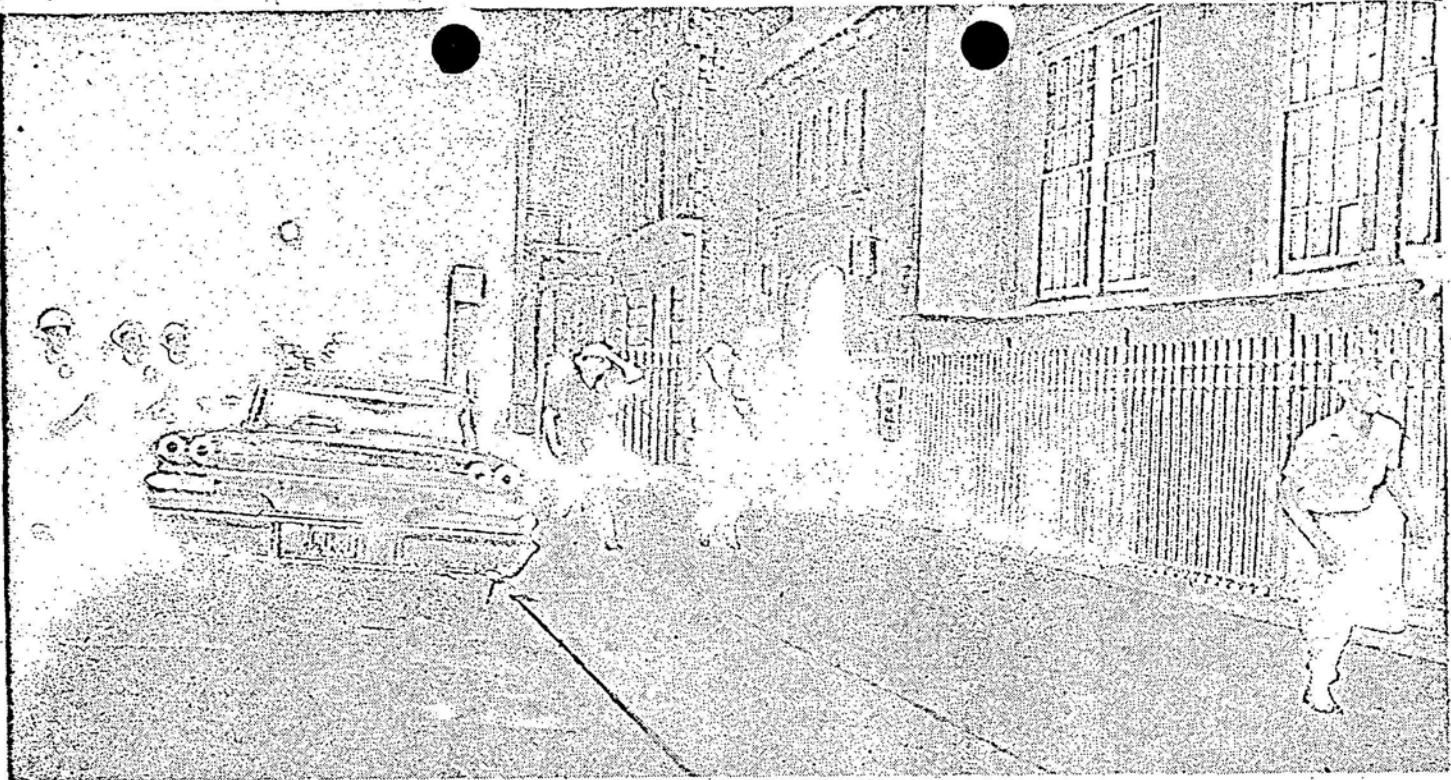
There he was arrested and beaten by the cops and his home was attacked by the Klan. From his one and a half year's experience in Mississippi he concluded that more basic changes were necessary. He left the South and came to Los Angeles shortly after the Watts rebellion.

Having seen the effects of the police riot and having heard about the systematic police murder of scores of black citizens, he decided to do political work in Watts. In December, 1965, impressed with the work of Bill Epton and the program of the Progressive Labor Party, he joined PL and became a revolutionary communist.

WHY THIS ARREST NOW?

In fact, they are arresting

John to scare and terrorize PL members and others who protest conditions in the black ghetto. Although John is not guilty of any criminal or illegal act, he certainly is guilty of protesting the wretched living conditions in Watts. He has spoken and written about the fact that real income in Watts declined 8% since 1960 while rising in the rest of L.A. He has passed out leaflets which pointed out that in Watts is one of the biggest concentrations of industry -- yet black people living there aren't given jobs in these plants, and that there is 37% unemployment there. He has constantly



worked to expose the outrages of Yorty's brutal cops in Watts who constantly murder and maim black people, the Deadwyler case being only one example. He has publically denounced the war in Vietnam and urged his black brothers not to fight in that war. He has told them to oppose the draft and warmly supported such people as Richmond and Key who refused to be inducted on the grounds that they are a colonial minority and shouldn't fight the colonial master's dirty war against colored people of Southeast Asia. What is more, John has held classes which sought to get at the root cause of U.S. oppression both at home and abroad. He has not hesitated to name the real enemy, U.S. imperialism, and has stated unequivocally that imperialism in this country must be replaced by a socialist system. He has stated openly that he is a communist and proud of it. For this he was arrested on "criminal syndicalism".

HARLEM - PHILADELPHIA - ATLANTA - LOS ANGELES -

In Harlem, late in 1964 Bill Epton, chairman of Harlem PL, was indicted for "criminal anarchy" -- his crime - trying to organize a peaceful demonstration to protest the murder of black people during the "police riots" that summer. A year later he was found guilty; he is now out on \$25,000 appeal bond. This summer in Philadelphia, young SNCC workers were falsely charged with possessing dynamite and

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held on huge bail. Their crime -- organizing in the black community. Next it was the turn of the Atlanta cops who, after brutally suppressing a protest by black citizens of another police murder, arrested Stokely Carmichael for inciting to riot. His crime -- advancing the slogan black power. Now in Los Angeles John Harris is arrested for criminal syndicalism. Tomorrow, no doubt, it will be somebody in San Francisco. And the "crime" will again be the same -- organizing the black community around a militant program.

It is clear Johnson is ordering his local stooges to begin a nationwide round-up of all black militants who refuse to sell out, because rebellions in black ghettos are harming his war effort. Though the charges are serious and the bail huge, we declare that the real guilty ones are Johnson and company for pursuing the genocidal war against Vietnam; Yorty and the police who daily are brutally murdering and maiming black people; the General Motors and Goodyear plants in South L.A. who poison the air of Watts but refuse to hire its residents. We must expect that as we get more effective in our protests, repression such as this will get worse. But this won't stop us, on the contrary we will redouble our efforts!

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Politically, all honest people interested in building a truly just society must break from the "two party" farce conducted by the American ruling class. Work to free themselves and others from the illusions of this system. It was under this "lesser evil" Brown that this frame-up was concocted. Recognize that in the black ghettos the battle has already been joined. That the war against imperialism is a class war. The victory of the Vietnamese people and the struggles of all other colonial peoples is a part of our own crucial struggle against the "free enterprising" system of exploitation and war.

Finally: Support the program and work of John Harris and the Progressive Labor Party. Money is desperately needed.

Progressive Labor Party
P. O. Box 19930
Los Angeles 19, California

For information on PL forums and classes, write to the above address.

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II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

LA T-13 (9/23/66)

A meeting of the South Central CP Club, Moranda Smith Section, SCDCP, was held at 5731 South St. Andrews Place, on September 14, 1966. A section report was given and during this report it was stated that the section wanted resolutions turned in for the coming SCDCP District Convention to be held on November 11, 1966. It was also stated that the CP would put a lot of work in the Negro community and a subcommittee on this work had been set up.

LA T-1 (10/26/66)

LA T-14 (10/26/66)

The annual PW banquet was held on October 16, 1966, at 3400 Wilshire Boulevard. The banquet's theme was a salute to the Negro Freedom Movement. The chairman greeted the audience and saluted the Negro people. One of the speakers said he had great hopes to live in a more peaceful America and spoke of the need for black and white to integrate.

APPENDIX

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,
MARXIST-LENINIST (CPUSA, M-L)

On August 24, 1965, a source advised that the West Coast Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (WCPOC) was formed in Los Angeles, California, on August 23, 1965, under the leadership of MIKE LASKY. Although similar in name, the newly organized WCPOC had no connection whatsoever with the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (POC) or the latter's West Coast POC.

On September 7, 1965, the above source advised that a National Conference of the newly formed WCPOC was held over the September 4-5, 1965, weekend in Los Angeles. At that meeting, the name WCPOC was dropped, and the CPUSA, M-L was formed under LASKY's leadership. The CPUSA, M-L has the following aims and purposes:

1. To conduct guerrilla warfare training, including the use of firearms;
2. To organize CPUSA, M-L cells in the South to exploit all "racial situations" that might arise there, to agitate the population, and create situations which would require the use of Federal Troops so that Americans would be fighting Americans;
3. To establish and maintain an accelerated recruiting program to include acceptance of anyone who is an anti-imperialist.

On May 12, 1966, the above source advised that the CPUSA, M-L continued to exist.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS,
formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for
Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for
Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised December 1, 1961, pp. 103-104, describes this committee as follows:

1. "A 'branch' of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born found to be under the 'actual management, direction and supervision' of Communist Party members. The Los Angeles Committee was reorganized in October, 1950, and reported that it 'shall be affiliated to the national organization known as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born ***' The American Committee and the 'various area or local committees * * * constitute * * * one organization within the meaning of the * * * statute (Internal Security Act)' under which the Subversive Activities Control Board found the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to be a 'Communist-front organization' and ordered it to register as such with the Attorney General."

(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 109-53, Report and Order with respect to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, June 27, 1960, pp. 41, 8, 12, and 51.)

2. "Cited as a 'regional' organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and one of its 'most complex affiliates.' 'The Committee on Un-American Activities found that in early publications the local affiliates frankly identified themselves as chapters of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born'; their representation of themselves as independent groups came only after enactment of the Internal Security Act which would have required them, as affiliates, to register as Communist-front organizations'.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS
 formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for
 Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for
Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

"Control of the local organizations * * * was made possible primarily by virtue of the fact that the leaders of the local group were Communist Party members and therefore, subject to the discipline of the Party * * * The local affiliates * * * were actually little more than administrative staffs, whose purpose it was to implement the program of the Communist Party in their respective areas.

"The Lamp of January, 1950, reported that the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born had been established on November 29, 1949. Publicly identified Communist ROSE CHERNIN served as 'the operation head' since the time of its organization.

"(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1182 on Communist Political Subversion, August 16, 1957, pp. 86, 87, 55, 33, 54, 58, and 59; also cited in Annual Report for 1956, House Report #53, February 11, 1957, p. 5.)"

The "People's World", a West Coast Communist newspaper, issue of 4/23/66, contained an account of results of the 16th Annual Conference of the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born which was held 4/16/66. The accomplishments include a change of name for the organization to Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, inasmuch as Defense of the Bill of Rights is all inclusive.

A source advised on 4/25/66 that the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, still referred to by many individuals as the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, is currently active in the Los Angeles area.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York City, to organize the PLM into the PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times", April 20, 1965, Page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as Milton Rosen of New York, President, and William Epton of New York and Mort Scheer of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the Party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. Rosen and Mr. Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor", a bimonthly magazine; "Challenge", a biweekly New York City newspaper; and "Spark", a west coast newspaper.

The June 1, 1965, issue of "Challenge", page 6, states that, "this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

The source advised that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 622, 132 Nassau Street, New York City, where the PLP publications are prepared.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR
A MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY (POC)

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, contains the following on pages 142-143.

1. Founded to be "a new Communist splinter group". The Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party "also known as the POC * * * was formed in August, 1958 by a number of Communist Party members who were dissatisfied with the trends and policies of the party and, while within it, had referred to themselves as the Marxist-Leninist Caucus."

"The leaders and participants in the Provisional Organizing Committee group had been expelled from the Communist Party on the technical charge of 'disruptive, factional, anti-party activities.'

"The POC group is composed largely of extreme left-wing elements from the Communist Party. Throughout the party's history, there have been contending right and left-wing factions which, in periods of turmoil such as the party has gone through in the recent past, have fought for control. The POC elements lost out in this recent struggle within the U.S. party ***."

"The one fact that is completely clear today is that the POC group is made up of hard-core, dedicated, and extremist Communists, who despite their present differences with the Communist Party leadership, are intent upon doing all within their power to speed the achievement of the goals of international communism."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1959, House Report 1251, February 8, 1960, pp. 69 and 70.)

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

SOUTH SIDE CITIZENS
DEFENSE COMMITTEE (SSCDC)

On September 2, 1965, a source advised that CHARLENE MITCHELL stated at a meeting of the Southern Californis District Communist Party (SCDCP) in August, 1965, that the Communist Party (CP) had set up the SSCDC to aid the Negro people and to pay for legal defense for those who needed it.

A second source advised in November, 1965, that CHARLENE MITCHELL was a member of the National Committee, CP, USA, and on November 10, 1965, was elected chairman of the Negro Commission, SCDCP.

On October 6, 1965, a third source advised that at a meeting of the SCDCP in October, 1965, it was reported that the SSCDC was to be operated by the Moranda Smith Section, SCDCP.

On May 16, 1966, a fourth source advised that the SSCDC is currently in existence.

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APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC has varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Los Angeles, California
January 30, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-66078

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Report of SA GORDON M. SIM
dated as above at Los Angeles.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM : SAC, EL PASO (100-5860) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM

OO: NY

DATE: 1/30/67

OB/AR
H. M.

Re Bureau letter to Albany, dated 8/28/64;
EP letter to the Bureau, dated 10/26/66.

In accordance with Bureau instructions, this is to advise that continued contact with [] who has furnished reliable information in the past and who has some knowledge of the Communist Party and/or related activities in the El Paso area, has determined that during the entire four quarters of 1966, no information had been developed by him to indicate, in any way, communist influence in racial matters in the El Paso Division. It is to be noted that [] maintains contact with current Communist Party members, former tentative members, and known sympathizers; however, no information has been developed indicating their interest in racial unrest.

b7D

In addition, continued contact with sources in the El Paso Human Relations Council, NAACP, the National Negro Progressive Society, Inc., and the El Paso Community Assn., has failed to show any information which indicate communist influence in these organizations or in their policies.

In view of the above information, no quarterly report is being submitted at this time and a tickler is being set to advise the Bureau regarding the first quarter of 1967.

REC 32

- ② - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (Info) (RM)
1 - El Paso

FJP/sc
(4)



5010-108-01

EX-115

2079
12 FEB 1 1967

133
Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/30/67

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (100-14539) (P*)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

*CB/82
Shackelford
Gunn*

Re report of SA THOMAS P. SCOLLARD dated 10/31/66
at Cincinnati, Ohio.

Quarterly Report of the Cincinnati Office in this
matter is due at Bureau 2/1/67.

Review of file shows no information received
indicating Communist influence in racial matters within
Cincinnati Division area since referenced report. Therefore,
no report being submitted at this time.

Cincinnati will continue to be alert for CIRM
information, and if such received, it will be promptly
reported by appropriate communication.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Cincinnati

TPS:mak
(3)

REC 32

EX-115

2080
FEB 1 1967

INT. SEC.



5425
FEB 10 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO :  Director, FBI (100-442529)

FROM : SAC, COLUMBIA (100-22) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS-C

DATE: 1/30/67

*CS/SE
Sheffield
Dunn*

Re COlet to BU, 10/15/66.

In absence of any pertinent information this letter is being submitted in lieu of a quarterly report.

- ② - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - New York (100-153753) (RM)
 - 1 - Columbia
- MBM:kpb
(4)

100-442529-2081

REC 32

11 FEB 1 1967

EX-115

Handwritten initials



17 FEB 6 1967

133

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-25-82 BY SP4 JRM/ld

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: January 26, 1967

SAC, CHICAGO (157-1632) (C)

CHANGED

DAVE WALLACE, aka,

David

M. Wallace

RM

The title in this matter is marked changed to include the name of DAVID M. WALLACE as indicated in Chicago Police Department records.

Re Atlanta airtel and letterhead memo dated 11/25/66 to the Bureau captioned, "CIRM IS-C," which in part requested the Chicago Office to advise the Bureau and Atlanta of any pertinent information relative to the captioned individual.

It is to be noted that referenced airtel indicated that WALLACE was to be an assistant to JESSE JACKSON, SCLC staff official, Chicago, Illinois. Subsequent investigation indicates that DAVID M. WALLACE has been active in civil rights activities for the past year in Chicago, Illinois, and was arrested in May, 1966, during the course of a "sit-in" at the Cook County Welfare Office, Chicago, Illinois, conducted by the Kenwood - Oakland Community Organization. As a result of this arrest the Chicago Police Department records were reviewed for DAVID M. WALLACE and set forth below is background and descriptive data:

Name
Race
Sex
Date of birth
Place of birth
Height
Weight
Hair
Eyes
Address

DAVID M. WALLACE

White

Male

5'6"

125 pounds

Brown

Brown

Chicago, Illinois

Clergyman

Occupation

REC-16

EX-104

- (3) - Bureau (RM)
(1 - 100-442529) (1 - 100-438794) (SCLC)
2 - Atlanta (100-5718) (SCLC) (Info) (RM)
2 - Chicago (1 - 157-1632)
(1 - [redacted]) (SCLC)

b3

b7E

UNREC COPY FILED IN

62 FEB 6 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CG 157-1632

It is noted that 5751 Woodlawn Avenue, is the address for the Chicago Theological Seminary, University of Chicago, at which JESSE JACKSON, SCLC staff member, is a student. *De*

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Investigation at Chicago concerning WALLACE including contacts with established Security sources has failed to indicate any subversive activities on his part, and consequently, no letterhead memo is being submitted.

The above is furnished for the information of the Bureau and Atlanta office.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-19249) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM

DATE: 1/30/67

Re Albany letter 10/31/66.

A review of appropriate files in the Albany Division discloses no pertinent information received during the past quarter.

cc: 2-Bureau (RM)
1-New York (100-153735) (RM)
1-Albany
ETB:ad
(4)

REC 45

62 FEB 1 1967



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM : SAC, LOUISVILLE (100-4722) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C

DATE: 1/30/67

Re Louisville letter to the Director, dated
10/31/66.

No data pertaining to instant matter has been
developed within this division during the period October 31,
1966, to date.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (RM)
1 - Louisville
GWH/mjr
(4)

ST-112

REC 45

2084

FEB 1 1967

INT. SEC.

1967



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM : SAC, JACKSONVILLE (100-670) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C
(OO: New York)

DATE: 1/31/67

[Handwritten signature]

Re Jacksonville letter to Bureau dated 10/24/66.

The Jacksonville office has no information to report in captioned matter.

REC 45 /

2085

15 FEB 1 1967

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
2 - Jacksonville
HDS:ser
(6)

[Handwritten initials]



62 FEB 7 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/30/67

FROM : SAC, HONOLULU (100-6356) (RUC)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

Shelton

Re Bureau letter to Albany, 8/28/64.

No information has been received indicating any
Communist influence in racial matters in Hawaii.

*1.0
1.5*

H

REC 32

100-442529-2086

2 - Bureau (RAM)
1 - Honolulu
LSB:lfj
(3)

FEB 1 1967



FEB 1 1967

133

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Info. rec.

Date 2/15/67

T.C.

☒ Director

F. # 100-9845

Att.: (100-442529)

☐ SAC (REG. AM) Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE

☐ ASAC IN RACIAL MATTERS

☐ Supv. IS - C

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ IC

☐ CC

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

ACTION DESIRED

- | | |
|--|---|
| ☐ Acknowledge | ☐ Open Case |
| ☐ Assign _____ Reassign _____ | ☐ Prepare lead cards |
| ☐ Bring file | ☐ Prepare tickler |
| ☐ Call me | ☐ Recharge serials |
| ☐ Correct | ☐ Return assignment card |
| ☐ Deadline _____ | ☐ Return file |
| ☐ Deadline passed | ☐ Return serials |
| ☐ Delinquent | ☐ Search and return |
| ☐ Discontinue | ☐ See me |
| ☐ Expedite | ☐ Send Serials _____ |
| ☐ File | to _____ |
| ☐ For information | ☐ Submit new charge out |
| ☐ Initial & return | ☐ Submit report by _____ |
| ☐ Leads need attention | ☐ Type |
| ☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken. | |

ReBu R/S 2/13/67 pertaining to report of SA W. RULON PAXMAN, dated 1/30/67 at Salt Lake City, to the effect that on page 4 there is no date informant T-3 furnished information regarding ETHEL C. HALE.

WRP:mhe

SAC

X See reverse side

Office SU

INT. SEC.

TO: SAC,

☐ Albany	☐ Houston	☐ New York City	☐ Tampa
☐ Albuquerque	☐ Indianapolis	☐ Norfolk	☐ Washington Field
☐ Anchorage	☐ Jackson	☐ Oklahoma City	☐ Quantico
☐ Atlanta	☐ Jacksonville	☐ Omaha	
☐ Baltimore	☐ Kansas City	☐ Philadelphia	TO LEGAT:
☐ Birmingham	☐ Knoxville	☐ Phoenix	☐ Bern
☐ Boston	☐ Las Vegas	☐ Pittsburgh	☐ Bonn
☐ Buffalo	☐ Little Rock	☐ Portland	☐ Buenos Aires
☐ Butte	☐ Los Angeles	☐ Richmond	☐ London
☐ Charlotte	☐ Louisville	☐ St. Louis	☐ Manila
☐ Chicago	☐ Memphis	☒ Salt Lake City	☐ Mexico, D.F.
☐ Cincinnati	☐ Miami	☐ San Antonio	☐ Ottawa
☐ Cleveland	☐ Milwaukee	☐ San Diego	☐ Paris
☐ Columbia	☐ Minneapolis	☐ San Francisco	☐ Rome
☐ Dallas	☐ Mobile	☐ San Juan	☐ Rio de Janeiro
☐ Denver	☐ Newark	☐ Savannah	☐ Santo Domingo
☐ Detroit	☐ New Haven	☐ Seattle	☐ Tokyo
☐ El Paso	☐ New Orleans	☐ Springfield	
☐ Honolulu			

Date **2/24/67**

RE: **CIRM
IS - C**

☒ For information ☐ Retention optional ☐ For appropriate action ☐ Surep, by _____

☐ The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, ☐ conceal all sources, ☐ paraphrase contents.

☐ Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____

Remarks: **Rerep of SA W. RULON PAXMAN dated 1/30/67, Bureau R/S 2/13/67 and your R/S 2/15/67.**

The date 7/7/63 was not included in your characterization of ETHEL C. HALE. In characterizing ROBERT ARCHULETA you set forth the date information furnished by informant. You were not consistent in your report. In future, please be guided by instructions set forth in the Manual of Rules and Regulations, Part II, Section 4, page 17, items 6 & 7.

Enc. **100-442529**
Bufile **100-9845**
Urfile

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-442529) DATE: 1/30/67

FROM : SAC, JACKSON (100-57)

SUBJECT: **COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS (CIRM)
INTERNAL SECURITY - C**SOG ACTION:
(Records Branch)☐ Post and destroy
☒ File

This case will be delinquent.

Date of Bureau deadline: **February 1, 1967**Reason for the delinquency: **Agent assigned case has been engaged full time with investigation entitled "SSGT. AUBREY LEE VARNUM, RA 14-505-872; ET AL; SSA, 1948" (Bufile 25-547632).**

Date the report or necessary communication will reach the Bureau:

February 7, 1967

AEC zone designation; e.g., OR, CH, etc.:

(This applies only to 116 cases.)

☒ No administrative action necessary.

② - Bureau (100-442529)

1 - Jackson (100-57)
TF/bjk (3)

INT. SEC.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: Jan. 30, 1967

FROM : SAC, Denver (100-8997) (P*)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
DENVER DIVISION
IS - C

CB/R
Shankland

Rerep SA JOSEPH C. LEARNED dated 10/28/66 at Denver.

No information has come to the attention of the Denver Office during the past three months which would normally be reported under above-captioned case.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (RM)
1 - Denver
JCL:mf
(4)

REC-14 / 100-442529-2087
EX-115
FEB 1 1967
SEC-1



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SALT LAKE CITY	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 1/30/67	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/18-24/67
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY W. RULON PAXMAN	TYPED BY MHE
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA W. RULON PAXMAN, dated 10/28/66 at Salt Lake City.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

This report is classified ~~Confidential~~ since data reported from SU T-1 through SU T-3 could reasonably result in the identification of Confidential Informants of continuing value and compromise effectiveness thereof.

0-7 to SA 2/13/67 for approp. action.
Page 4, there is no date T-3
furnished info. advise date.
Expedite ... dis. being held in
they once. smw/ci

APPROVED COPIES MADE:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
9 - Bureau (100-442529)(REG. AM) 1 - INTC, Fort Douglas, Utah (REG.) 1 - OSI, 14th District, Lowry Air Force Base, Denver, Colorado (REG.) 1 - DIO, 12ND, San Francisco (REG.) - New York (Info)(REG. AM) - Salt Lake City (100-9845)		2088	REC. 16
		11 FEB 1 1967	REC 102
Dissemination Record of Attached Report Agency: AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER., Request: 59 FEB 2 1967 Date Fwd. 2/21/67 How Fwd. R/S 3y smw/ci		Notations INT. SEC.	

SU 100-9845

INFORMANTS

Identity of Informant

Location

SU T-1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Characterizations of JOSEPH R.
DI SANTI, MARCUS PARR, ROBERT
ARCHULETA

b7D

SU T-2

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SU T-3

[REDACTED]

(Deceased)

Characterization of ETHEL C. HALE

LEADS

SALT LAKE CITY

AT SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

Submit quarterly reports to reach the Bureau by
February 1, May 1, August 1 and November 1 of each year.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - INTC, Fort Douglas, Utah (REG.)
1 - OSI, 14th District, Lowry Air Force
Base, Denver, Colorado (REG.)
1 - DIO, 12ND, San Francisco (REG.)

Report of: W. RULON PAXMAN
Date: 1/30/67

Office: SALT LAKE CITY

Field Office File #: 100-9845

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: JOSEPH R. DI SANTI, a reported Communist Party (CP) member, scheduled a discussion on "Black Power" in 10/66. MARCUS PARR, a reported CP member, and DI SANTI made inquiries in October and November, 1966, with respect to an appearance of peace candidate before National Association For The Advancement Of Colored People (NAACP), Salt Lake City, Utah. ROBERT ARCHULETA, DI SANTI and ETHEL C. HALE, reported CP members, are members of NAACP.

- P* -

DECLASSIFIED BY 1259
2/2/78 888/ass
ON

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES~~

~~AND FIELD OFFICES~~

~~ADVISED BY ROUTING~~

~~SLIP(S) ATTACHED~~

~~DATE 2/15/79 JgP/ass~~

SU 100-9845

DETAILS:

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

No information has been developed.

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

No information has been developed.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

JOSEPH R. DI SANTI has scheduled a meeting at his residence, Granger, Utah, for the evening of October 13, 1966. The purpose of the meeting is to discuss "Black Power."

(SU T-1, 10/13/66
SU T-2, 10/17/66)

JOSEPH R. DI SANTI in January, 1967, was a leading member of the Communist Party (CP) of Utah.

(SU T-1, 1/19/67)

In the latter part of October, 1966, MARCUS PARR made inquiries with respect to the possibility of having STANFORD HALL, a peace candidate for Congress, appear before a meeting of the Salt Lake City, Utah, Branch of the National Association For The Advancement Of Colored People (NAACP) at the next meeting of the NAACP.

(SU T-2, 11/7/66)

MARCUS PARR in January, 1967, was a leading member of the CP of Utah.

(SU T-1, 1/19/67)

JOSEPH R. DI SANTI in the early part of November, 1966, made inquiries to determine whether STANFORD HALL could speak before the Salt Lake City Branch of the NAACP on November 7, 1966. A

(SU T-2, 11/10/66)

There are approximately 350 members of the Salt Lake City Branch of the NAACP. The principal interest of this branch continues to be open housing for Negroes and other minorities in the State of Utah. The branch has been successful in having this idea of open housing included in the message to the Legislature of the Governor of Utah. It is, however, not anticipated that an open housing bill will be passed by the current Utah State Legislature, even though it is expected that such a bill will be introduced. The NAACP has decided to continue its procedures of urging open housing but considers that demonstrations for open housing at this time would be inappropriate and would probably hurt the civil rights movement in Utah rather than help it. A

HENRY ADAMS, [REDACTED] Utah, was elected to the Presidency of the Salt Lake City NAACP in December, 1966. He is employed as an Assistant Attorney General in the State of Utah. ADAMS was formerly employed by Internal Revenue Service in Washington, D. C. He has not completely formulated his own program for the organization, but the indication is that his approaches will be moderate and will not include a wide use of demonstrations and other activities which could lead to problems. ADAMS is completely opposed to the idea of civil disobedience in the civil rights field and does not subscribe to the idea of "Black Power," except as such power on a political basis or otherwise is completely earned by the Negroes. A

b6
b7c
17

In November, 1966, at a board meeting of the NAACP, the subject of communist activities came up incidental to other discussions, even though it was not on the agenda. It was obvious from the expressions of all board members present that communism is not only opposed by them but that the board members consider that positive action should be

SU 100-9845

taken if at any time infiltration by communism threatened the Salt Lake City NAACP. No specific program, however, has been developed in order to combat the communist menace. ADAMS was not at that time a member of the Board of the NAACP and so was not present during this meeting. His specific views pertaining to the threat of communism have not been defined, but it is known from the past that he is opposed to it. It is not considered at this time that any suspected members of the CP in Utah are in a position to materially influence the activities of the NAACP in Salt Lake City.

Among the current members of the NAACP in Salt Lake City are the following:

ROBERT ARCHULETA, [redacted] Salt Lake City, Utah; membership expires September 30, 1967.
JOSEPH R. DI SANTI, [redacted] Utah; membership expires August 31, 1967.
ETHEL C. HALE, [redacted] Salt Lake City, Utah; membership expires December 31, 1967.

b6
b7c

(SU T-2, 1/18/67)

ROBERT ARCHULETA in January, 1967, was the Treasurer of the CP of Utah.

(SU T-1, 1/19/67)

ETHEL C. HALE in July, 1963, was a member of the CP in Utah.

(SU T-3) (7/7/63)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Salt Lake City, Utah
January 30, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-9845

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Report of Special Agent W. Rulon
Paxman, dated January 30, 1967,
at Salt Lake City

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM : *WJL* SAC, HOUSTON (100-10100) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C
(OO: NEW YORK)

DATE: 1/31/67

Re: Houston letter to Bureau, 11/1/66. *CB/SR*
100-10100

A review of appropriate case files in the security and racial fields discloses there has been no activity in the Houston territory during the past three months pertinent to captioned matter.

In the event any positive information is developed from confidential informants and sources in the future, such information will be promptly furnished the Bureau.

Pursuant to instructions in Bureau letter to Albany, 8/28/64, no investigative report is being submitted by Houston at this time.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
1 - Houston

KBJ:mb
(4)

REC- 23

2089

15 FEB 1967

100-10100

100-10100

1967



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN (100-18290) (*P)

DATE: 1/31/67

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

Re: New Haven letter To Bureau 10/31/66.

During the period of October 31, 1966, through January 30, 1967, New Haven has received no information in connection with captioned matter.

In view of the above, no report is being submitted at this time.

2 Bureau (RM)
1 Boston (Info) (RM)
1 New York (Info) (RM)
1 New Haven
JCH/mmj
(5)

REC-39

2090
12 FEB 1 1967



5010-108

57 FEB 8 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

INT. SEC.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 2/1/67

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (100-10028) (P*)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS-C

(OO: NEW YORK)

Re Charlotte letter to Bureau 11/1/66.

Period: 11/1/66 - 1/31/67

During this period there has been no information indicating that any individuals with subversive backgrounds have participated in racial activities in the Charlotte Division.

Accordingly, no report is being submitted.

REC-104

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
- 1 - Charlotte

GHC:cg
(4)

FEB 2 1967



7 FEB 6 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM : SAC, BALTIMORE (100-23443) -P* -

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

DATE: 2/1/67

Re report of SA FRANCIS J. WALSH dated 11/1/66,
at Baltimore, Maryland.

A review of Baltimore files does not reflect any information indicating that the Communist Party (CP) or any other basic revolutionary organization has had any influence on racial matters in the Baltimore Division within the past three months.

On 1/31/67, [] who is familiar with certain phases of CP activity in the Maryland area advised that the CP in Maryland has not penetrated the Civil Rights movement in the Maryland area to any extent and has had no significant influence in racial matters in recent months.

b7D

On 1/31/67, []-PSI, who is familiar with certain phases of Spartacist Group activity and activities of the Baltimore Committee to End the War in Vietnam as well as the Communist Organizing Committee, advised that those groups have had no significant influence in racial matters within the Baltimore Division within the past three months.

b7D

On 1/31/67, []-PSI, who is familiar with certain phases of communist activity in the Baltimore, Maryland, area, including the Communist Organizing Committee, advised that no information has come to his attention indicating that there is any communist influence in racial matters in the Baltimore area at the present time.

b7D

- ST-100
- REC-14
- 2092
- ② - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - New York (100-153735) (REGISTERED MAIL)
2 - Baltimore
FJW:par
(5)
- FEB 8 1967
- SEC



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/27/67

FROM : SAC, MOBILE (100-10-F) (P)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C

ReMOlet to Bureau 10/27/66.

During the quarter ending 12/31/66 no potential information was received concerning captioned matter.

No CP group has been reported active in this division. The only known CP member is an elderly, unemployed Negro male at Montgomery, Ala.

Accordingly, no report is being submitted.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (Info) (100- 153735) (RM)
1 - Mobile
JTB:sis
(4)

REC-112

100-442529-2093
11 FEB 1 1967



77 FEB 6 1967

133 Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-442529)

FROM : SAC, Portland (100-10580) (P*)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C
OO: New York

DATE: 1/31/67

CB/PR

Re Portland letter to Bureau, 10/29/66.

Since referenced letter, no information has been developed indicating communist influence in racial matters in Oregon. Well-informed Negro informants confirm the lack of such influence. In view of this, no quarterly report will be submitted.

See

J. B. Marshall

2 Bureau (AM) (RM)
1 New York (Info) (RM)
1 Portland
LEF/dlf
(4)

100-442529-2094

100-442529-2094

100-442529-2094

INT. SEC.



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE MIAMI	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 1/31/67	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 11/1/66 - 1/31/67
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY RAYMOND L. O'KELLY	TYPED BY JMS
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA RAYMOND L. O'KELLY,
11/7/66 at Miami.

- P *

LEADSMIAMI

At Miami, Florida

Will continue to follow and report CIRM
activities in Miami.

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being disseminated

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
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Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency			
Request Recd.			
Date Fwd.	53 FEB 14 1967	2/13/67	
How Fwd.		AKS	
By		Wm W/	

Notations

ICC NY 924940

MM 100-15058

to appropriate military intelligence agencies, pursuant to Bureau instructions.

This report is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ as MM T-1 and MM T-2 are informants of continuing value whose disclosure would have an adverse effect on the national defense interests.

INFORMANTS

<u>Identity</u>	<u>Location</u>
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✓ MM T-1 is	
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✓ MM T-2 is	
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	100-14637-20
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b7D

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - NISO, 6th ND, Charleston, S.C. (RM)
1 - G-2, Ft. McPherson, Ga. (RM)
1 - OSI, Robins AFB, Ga. (RM)

Report of: RAYMOND L. O'KELLY
Date: January 31, 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office: Miami, Florida

Field Office File #: 100-15058

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: Informant advised the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) favors growth and expansion of groups like the Congress of Racial Equality and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee precisely because of their attitude toward the Viet Nam War and anti-JOHNSON administration policies generally, all of which coincides with the political viewpoints of the CP. The CP, USA National Office instructed Miami CP to pursue following activity:
(1) Electing a Negro from Florida as legislator to U.S. Congress in 1968; (2) Unequivocal support, stressing Negro-White unity, of Congressman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL; (3) and support of 185 billion dollar "Freedom Budget" proposed by A. PHILIP RANDOLPH. Two Miami CP members active in Miami area Inter-racial Mothers Club.

p*

DETAILS:

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

MM 100-15058

The Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) has always been interested in attempting to get connected with any movements or groups with the aim of entrenching its own leadership and drawing on that movement or group for members to join the CP. It is especially interested in the militant type of groups and consider these elements as already quite advanced ideologically in terms of recognizing the need for militant action. The CP considers such groups as only a step or two away from a logical realization that they are the type who should join the CP.

The CP, USA looks favorably on groups like the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and attempts to connect with and influence, and particularly strive to make contacts of a kind that will bring the individuals of these groups into the CP.

The CP is especially interested in groups who have political issues such as the Viet Nam War, consistent with the viewpoints of the CP. Although fundamentally the CP is leery of the "black power" slogan, a slogan which contravenes the proper Marxist theory on the Negro question, the CP equivocates and attempts to go along with the advocates of "black power" while making gentle criticisms.

While the CP, USA itself is too wise to publicly lead a campaign of open defiance against the draft, the nature of its propaganda, the pro-Viet Cong line and so-called anti-war line is such that it encourages and greets such activity undertaken by CORE, SNCC and other segments of the youth movement.

The CP, USA favors the growth and expansion of groups like CORE and SNCC precisely because of their

MM 100-15058

attitude toward the Viet Nam War and anti-JOHNSON administration policies generally, all of which coincide with the political viewpoints of the CP.

At the same time, the CP moves as carefully as possible in order not to compromise its so-called relationship with the moderate sections of the civil rights and Negro movements, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the labor element led by A. PHILIP RANDOLPH.

The Miami CP has no connection with CORE, SNCC or any Negro movement in South Florida. The Miami CP is currently so involved with the direction and problems of Party work in the Jewish mass movement and allegations of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, that the Negro problem has been shunted aside. At the present time it is unlikely that the Miami CP would either initiate activities with Negro groups or take part in any activity initiated by CORE, SNCC or other Negro youth movements.

MM T-1
11/23/66

In a form memorandum dated November 14, 1966, the CP, USA National Office advised the Miami CP that activity should be directed toward electing twenty Negro legislators to the United States Congress in 1968. Florida is one of the states where it was felt that Negro representation was possible. According to the memorandum, ministerial alliances of all types should be developed and also clubs established for this particular purpose as it was felt that this method would stimulate participation in city and state politics.

MM T-1
11/67

MM 100-15058

The Miami CP has been advised that future policy of the CP, USA in the racial field will include the following:

1. Unequivocal support of Representative ADAM CLAYTON ~~POWELL~~, New York Congressman, in his DC fight to retain his seat in Congress and Chairmanship of the House Labor and Education Committee. The Party feels that POWELL is a road-block in the path of anti-labor and anti-Negro legislation. The Party will portray Congressmen and other individuals who are against POWELL as white supremacists and as anti-union, and will state that the attempt to oust POWELL is a direct attack on the Negro people and must be defeated.

2. The development of support for the 185 billion dollar "Freedom Budget" proposed by A. PHILIP ~~RANDOLPH~~, prominent civil-rights leader to eliminate poverty and slum areas during the next ten years. U.S.A.

MM T-1
12/66

In a memorandum dated January 13, 1967 from HENRY ~~WINSTON~~, National Chairman, CP, USA, the Miami CP was instructed that the campaign to seat Congressman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL and restore him to his position as Chairman of the House Committee on Labor and Education, must be one of Negro and white unity, and especially with the forces in the labor movement. Groups such as students, those in the peace movements, and the unemployed all have a special interest in the fate of POWELL. The memo stated the attack against POWELL is obviously racist and bigoted in character. U.S.A.

Each CP district was instructed to give this matter immediate attention along the lines of special meet-

MM 100-15058

ings, statements of protest, letters to House Speaker JOHN W. McCORMACK, and delegations and telephone calls to their local Congressmen.

MM T-1
1/67

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

No additional information developed.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

Inter-racial Mother's Club

There are two Miami CP members active in the Inter-racial Mother's Club, which utilizes the Jewish Cultural Center, 429 Lenox Avenue, Miami Beach, Florida, as one of their meeting places. This is the only known activity of any Miami CP members with Negro people.

MM T-1
11/23/66

* On August 16, 1963 MM T-2 advised that the Inter-racial Mother's Club is a group of Negro and white women organized to promote the integration of the races and to raise funds to provide scholarships for needy children. *MM T-2 8*

On January 12, 1967, MM T-2 advised the Inter-racial Mother's Club is composed mainly of Negro families who live in Miami. The club has an approximate membership of between 30 and 40 women, generally meet in the homes of the various members. Some members of the

MM 100-15058

EMMA LAZARUS Federation have shown an interest in the club but as far as is known, they exercise no direction of its activity. The leading official in the club has been BLANCHE CALLOWAY, who is believed to be the sister of the famous band leader CAB CALLOWAY. She is an extremely intelligent and conscientious woman, very much concerned with improving the situation of the Negro in the Miami area.

F. L. A.

IN THE INTER-
RACIAL MOTHERS
CLUB

✓ The Jewish Cultural Center is characterized in the appendix.

✓ The EMMA LAZARUS Federation locally and nationally is characterized in the appendix.

APPENDIX

JEWISH CULTURAL CENTER (JCC)

1

The records of the Circuit Court, Dade County, Miami, Florida, reflect that articles of corporation were filed by the Jewish Cultural Center (JCC), and on July 13, 1949, a charter was granted it. The JCC was established as a corporation "not for profit". The general nature of the object of the JCC is to preserve and extend Jewish culture, including, without limitations, educational, theatrical, musical, scientific and literary activities.

On July 27, 1953, a source advised it is his opinion that the JCC is a local "progressive" organization not directly connected with the Communist Party, USA (CP); that the JCC was started by some local members of the CP but not, in his opinion, at the orders of the CP; and he believes the JCC was formed in order to provide a meeting place for "progressive Jewish groups".

The source advised on January 5, 1955, that the JCC continues to act as a meeting place for "progressive Jewish groups in the Miami area, and to rent space to any group meeting that qualification. He further advised the JCC in itself is not a communist front organization, but does permit such organizations to hold meetings at the Center.

On May 26, 1966, another source advised the JCC is dominated by Communist Party sympathizers, and it continues to permit communist front organizations to hold meetings in the Center.

On May 26, 1966, this source advised that ISAAC DANTZIG is presently Vice Chairman of the JCC. This source noted MORRIS ROHINSKY, former Chairman of the JCC, died on March 7, 1966.

On April 25, 1966, a third source advised that ISAAC DANTZIG is Vice Chairman of the Miami CP.

APPENDIX

1.

EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION OF JEWISH WOMEN'S CLUBS

"The Jewish Fraternalist" dated October, 1947, self-identified as the official publication of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order (JPFO) of the International Workers Order (IWO), on page 6, contained an article which disclosed that the Emma Lazarus Division (ELD) of the JPFO was to hold its first national convention in New York City on November 15 and 16, 1947, after having been first established at a National Women's Conference called three years previously by the JPFO.

The "Morning Freiheit" on January 25, 1951, contained a report of the National Convention of the ELD of the JPFO which took place in New York City on January 20 and 21, 1951. At this convention it was noted that the ELD changed its name to Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs (ELF) and adopted a new constitution.

On May 14, 1964, a source advised that the ELF is one of several mass organizations comprising the Jewish cultural progressive movement. June Gordon, ELF Executive Director, who is a member of the New York State Communist Party (CP) Board and Committee, is the leading force in the organization, whose leadership is largely made up of communists.

The source stated that the ELF claims to be for peace and interested in protecting the rights of the foreign born. It is against the Ben Gurion Government of Israel, bomb testing, anti-Semitism, Negro discrimination, and the rearmament of West Germany.

The source related that the ELF renders support to and receives support from the "Morning Freiheit" and other Jewish progressive organizations.

The source also stated that the ELF is recognized by the CP, USA, as an important progressive national organization of women.

The address of the national office of the ELF is 160 Fifth Avenue, Room 911, New York City.

The IWO and JPFO have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the "Morning Freiheit":

- "1. A 'Communist Yiddish daily'
(Attorney General Francis Biddle,
Congressional Record, September 24,
1942, p. 7686).
- "2. 'The Freiheit has been one of the
rankest organs of Communist propaganda
in this country for almost a quarter of
a century'.
(Special Committee on Un-American
Activities House Report 1311 on the
CIO Political Action Committee,
March 29, 1944, p. 75).

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION OF
JEWISH WOMEN'S CLUBS (ELF)
MIAMI, FLORIDA

1

A source in Miami, Florida, advised on May 26, 1966, that there are presently three Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs (ELF) in the Miami area, with a total membership of approximately 120.

This source advised that the Town Club and Miami Beach Club were formed sometime prior to 1953, exact dates unknown.

The third and newest club, the English Speaking Club, which meets at Miami Beach, was formed on September 20, 1960.

This source also stated that the three clubs are presently affiliated with the national organization of the ELF.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-15058

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Miami, Florida
January 31, 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference report of SA RAYMOND L. O'KELLY
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SEATTLE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 1/30/67	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/23 - 27/67
TITLE OF CASE CIRM		REPORT MADE BY R. BERT CARTER	TYPED BY MSW
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA R. BERT CARTER at Seattle 10/26/66.

- P* -

LEADS:

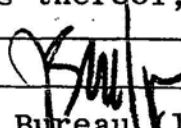
SEATTLE DIVISION
At Seattle, Washington:

Will submit quarterly report by May 1, 1967.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Copy of this report sent to New York for information because that office is origin in this case.

This report is classified ~~confidential~~ because information furnished by SE T-1 through SE T-8, if disclosed, could conceivably result in the identification of informants of continuing value, compromise future effectiveness thereof, and adversely affect the national security.

APPROVED 	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
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DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT		NOTATIONS	
AGENCY... REQUEST RECD... DATE FWD... HOW FWD... BY...			

INFORMANTS

IDENTITY OF SOURCE

LOCATION

✓ SE T-1 is

Characterization of VIVIAN GEORGE

b7D

✓ SE T-2 is

Characterization of HALLIE DONALDSON

✓ SE T-3 is

✓ SE T-4 is

✓ SE T-5 is

b7D

Characterization of WAYMON WARE

✓ SE T-6 is

✓ SE T-7 is

✓ SE T-8 is

b7D

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - NISO, Seattle (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - Region III, MIG, Fort Lawton, Seattle (REG)
1 - OSI, McChord AFB, Washington (REG)

Report of: R. BERT CARTER
Date: January 30, 1967

Office: SEATTLE

Field Office File No.: 100-27267

Bureau File No.: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

✓ Communist Party (CP) fund drive held during fourth quarter, 1966, during which political perspective of Party directed toward increasing support of Negro - labor unity and toward peace by ending war in Vietnam. ✓ CP recruiting reportedly should have specific concentration on youth, workers, Negroes, women, minorities, and mass activities. ✓ CP desires to find ways to unite with labor and Negro people in new alliance for peace and progress. ✓ CP book store sent notice to Seattle, Washington, libraries advising it had available extensive stock of books on world Negro history and culture. ✓ Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) distributed literature in which concept of "black power" is supported. ✓ FSP member taught course at Free University of Seattle entitled "Political Perspectives of the Negro Revolt".

- P* -

DETAILS:

At Seattle, Washington:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP I~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

A. COMMUNIST PARTY (CP), USA

- (1) Plans, strategy, Party line and the like made at national meetings, including expressions by national and other functionaries.

No information developed.

- (2) Plans, et cetera, made at District and lower level meetings, including expressions by local leaders and rank-and-file members.

SI' On September 28, 1966, a meeting of the Sno-King CP Club was held at Seattle, Washington. HENRY (HEINIE) HUFF, a member of this club, stated the CP fund drive would begin October 1, 1966, and proceed through October, November, and December. The political perspective during the drive should be increasing support for Negro - labor unity and for peace by ending the war in Vietnam.

SE T-1 (10/10/66)

- (3) Plans, et cetera, as revealed in Party publications and other propaganda media, such as written directives, press releases and the like.

SI' On September 21, 1966, a meeting of the South Central CP Section Committee was held at Kennydale in the home of THORUN ROBEL, one of the members of this committee. During the meeting, HILDUR JOSEPHINE HUGHES, also a member of this committee, distributed a document entitled "Section and Club Organizer's Guide for the 1966 Party Building Drive". This document stated in part as follows:

"1. Recruiting:

...

"... * establishing goals should be on the basis of specific concentration on: youth, workers, Negroes, women, minorities, mass activists..."

SE T-2 (9/23/66)

S.I.
On September 29, 1966, PAUL EMERSON, a CP member and Northwest Editor of the "People's World" (PW), distributed a two-page document entitled "Political Action - Peace" which was dated September 14, 1966. This item stated in part:

"...In the Pacific Northwest, as elsewhere, youth and women particularly have initiated and developed many imaginative ways to get people to express their concern about present U.S. overseas activity. These young people and women have helped activate the inactive. They have encouraged people to seek out independent forms that rise above the traditional pacifist approaches to war. As a mandatory step in our party's 1966 election efforts, we must find ways to help the youth and women peace champions to unite with labor and the Negro people in a new and potent independent alliance for peace and progress - a Labor-Negro-Peace Alliance.

"A prerequisite of achieving this alliance, the winning of decisive sections of organized labor to the struggle for peace, is the big challenge before us..."

SE T-3 (11/4/66)

The PW is a West-coast communist newspaper published weekly at San Francisco, California.

Source made available a copy of an undated letter on letterhead of the CO-OP BOOK STORE of the Washington Cultural Cooperative (WCC) which the source said was sent to the libraries in Seattle and various other locations. A reproduction of this item is set out hereinafter:

SE T-4 (11/9/66)

✓ The WCC is characterized in the appendix section.

S.I.
In October, 1966, SE T-2, whose name is set forth as the writer of this letter, reported HALLIE DONALDSON was then a CP member at Seattle.

CO-OP BOOK STORE
710 Stewart Street
Seattle, Washington 98101

Main 3 2263

Librarian

Dear Sir or Madam:

In view of the many problems confronting our nation and local communities which stem from the unequal position of the Negro People in this, our nation's life, perhaps you are planning a course in the history and current situation of the American Negro. We have many titles available which will give the background to the present unrest which has been stirring for some time both in the South and in the North.

Hoping that this may be useful to your curricula, we are enclosing a list of a few of these books. We have a nine foot shelf of American and World Negro History and Culture. Please phone or write us for our complete list, or, better still, visit the store.

Hours: Monday 1:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m.
Tuesday through Saturday 11:00 to 6:00 p.m.
Closed Sunday.

Sincerely yours,

HALLIE DONALDSON

P.S. These book lists have been sent to -
all Seattle Public Schools -
all colleges and universities in Wash. Ore, Ida, Montana,
all libraries in King Co., Pierce Co., Snohomish Co. in Wash.
all Public " in Ida, Montana, Oregon, Alaska

Hallie Donaldson

B. OTHER COMMUNIST GROUPS

1. FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY (FSP)

✓ The FSP is characterized in the appendix section.

- a. Plans, et cetera, as revealed in Party publications and other propaganda media, such as written directives, press releases, and the like.

On or about August 20, 1966, the FSP at Seattle distributed a leaflet concerning its support of "black power". A portion of this leaflet is set out below:

"SUPPORT BLACK POWER

DEFEND CIVIL RIGHTS MILITANTS

The concept of BLACK POWER, a central question in the advance of the Negro struggle for freedom, has been used as an excuse for a national campaign against Negro militants....

"WHAT IS BLACK POWER?

Stokely Carmichael, during the Meredith March through Mississippi, defined Black Power as neither a slogan nor a specific tactic. It is, rather, symbolic of a new leadership in the Civil Rights movement which has finally rejected the illusion that victory over the racist police states in the South can be won with love, or with confidence in the Federal government.

"The program of this new leadership appears to be the following:

1. For Black leadership of the Negro movement.
2. Against the white power structure: Negroes to have a fair share of the power: 'Break the white stranglehold on the Negro community.'
3. An all-out struggle against racial discrimination and segregation - but no integration into the 'American dream'.
4. No support to U.S. war in VietNam - for international solidarity with the colonial revolution.
5. For the right of the Civil Rights movement to defend itself - arms in hand if necessary - against the racists.

The Freedom Socialist Party of Washington supports this perspective, and hails this promise for the development of a winning Negro leadership in the fight for freedom.

WE CALL UPON ALL SUPPORTERS OF HUMAN FREEDOM TO EXPRESS THEIR SOLIDARITY WITH BLACK POWER AND DEFEND ITS AUTHORS AND SUPPORTERS AGAINST THE PRESENT PROSECUTION ! !

* * * *

WHAT IS THE 'FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY'?

The struggle of Negroes for freedom was central in the decision to form the FSP. This struggle is the key to success for the Socialist movement, as freedom from racial oppression can never be won so long as the white capitalist power structure stands, yet none of the traditional socialist organizations have been able to relate itself to this revolutionary struggle.

In a press statement, August 19, 1966, we announced the formation of the FSP and called for 'a regroupment of the revolutionary socialist movement, and for a regeneration of socialist theory and thought.' Recognizing that the Negro movement is objectively motivated toward a new and different social system, we announced our support for the 'struggle for Black freedom and Black Power in the context of the general working class aspiration for socialism.' "

SE T-5 (9/29/66)

During October, 1966, the FSP distributed a leaflet which stated in part that WAYMON WARE would be the instructor of a class offered by the Free University of Seattle to be held at 8:30 pm Fridays under the course title "Political Perspectives of the Negro Revolt". The leaflet gave this description of the course:

"The political tasks of the largest minority in the U.S..... Nigger: What it is, what it does White Man: symbol or organism ... Racism & the southern police state Isolation or Integration ...The Absolute of political revolution"

WAYMON WARE was described by SE T-5 in July, 1966, as being an FSP member at that time.

SE T-5 (10/11/66)

SE T-6 (10/5/66)

SE T-7 (10/10/66)

On or about December 2, 1966, the FSP at Seattle distributed a document which reads in part as follows:

~~"CONFIDENTIAL"~~

Dec. 2, 1966

RESOLUTION OF THE FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY OF WASHINGTON
ON REVOLUTIONARY REGROUPMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

The formation of the FSP, which united the former Seattle Branch of the SWP, independent radicals, and previously unaffiliated youth, expressed on a local scale the objective need in the U.S. for a basic reorganization of the socialist vanguard.

We were under no illusion that we, with a few national supporters, could substitute ourselves for the framework of a genuine national organization. On the contrary, our founding documents stressed the objective of socialist regroupment as the road towards rebuilding the party of revolutionary socialism.

We concur with the perspective ... that a national conference of socialist groups and individuals independent

"of the establish radical parties be held as soon as possible and feasible for the purpose of creating or laying the foundation for a new revolutionary party in this country...

Before considering a conference call, however, it is necessary to first probe the situation and arrive at a realistic estimate of the number and character of political groups and individuals interested and willing to participate and/or sponsor. This is basic to any further steps in this direction.

Two alternative strategic approaches to a regroupment conference may be anticipated: a broad conference capable of securing the adherence of a wide spectrum of radicals, or a narrower conference which would be essentially a regroupment of proclaimed Trotskyists.

(1) A broad conference is objectively indicated and preferable, but its success could depend upon the two key factors of program and sponsorship. Firm commitments from leading independents ... and from newcomers prominent in the Black Power and anti-war movements ... would be necessary. And minimum programmatic guarantees to assure the political independence, open revolutionary approach, and internal democracy of the new party would have to be demanded.

A broad organization of this type, closely connected with the southern movement, the northern ghetto, and the highly exploited sectors of the proletariat in general, would be subject to constant mass pressure complemented by the pressure generated by the presence of conscious revolutionary Bolsheviks. These two pressures would assure the development of a movement that would play a vital role in the rebuilding of revolutionary socialism in this country...."

SE T-5 (12/5/66)

SE T-6 (12/23/66)

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

No information developed.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A. NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED
PEOPLE (NAACP)

SI.
On November 28, 1966, a membership meeting of the NAACP was held at the Young Women's Christian Association, 29th and East Cherry Streets, Seattle, Washington, from 8 to 9:45 pm. Among those present was VIVIAN GEORGE.

SE T-8 (12/5/66)

VIVIAN NAOMI GEORGE was described by SE T-1 in November, 1966, as being a CP Section organizational secretary at Seattle as of that time.

FREE UNIVERSITY OF SEATTLE (FUS)

In its issue of September 30, 1966, "The Spectator", a student publication of Seattle University, carried an article on the formation of FUS at the University of Washington (UW), Seattle, Washington. It stated, in part, that RON RICHARDSON, a junior at the UW who is one of the founders of the movement in Seattle, stated the "free" does not refer to money but to academic freedom. "The student and teacher will meet together on common grounds to develop course content, curriculum, and to discuss direction of the school. In contrast to departmentalized education, courses will bridge several disciplines, emphasize controversy and clash of ideas. . .". The free university "basically represents dissent with the present system. People wouldn't spend their money and teachers would not volunteer their services unless this dissent existed."

On August 30, 1966, a source reported RON RICHARDSON is in charge of FUS, RICK SALING has supervision of the Marxist classes and MIRIAM RADER is in charge of the "radical" classes.

In July, 1966, a second source stated MIRIAM RADER, daughter of UW philosophy professor, Dr. MELVIN M. RADER, and RICK SALING are members of the Freedom Socialist Party of Washington which is the new name adopted by the former members of the Seattle Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

RONALD ALAN RICHARDSON resides with MIRIAM RADER at Seattle, according to the second source in August, 1966, but has no known party affiliation.

APPENDIX

RE: FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY OF WASHINGTON, Aka
FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY (FSP)

In April, 1966, a source advised that the members of the Seattle Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP), executed a statement of resignation from the National SWP, dated April 9, 1966, following which they referred to themselves as the Seattle Branch, SWP, (Unaffiliated), and temporarily adopted the name Freedom Socialist Party of Washington, aka Freedom Socialist Party (FSP). The group lead by RICHARD FRASER, aka Dick Fraser, Richard Kirk, Dick Kirk, formerly a member of the SWP National Committee, and his wife, CLARA FRASER, aka Clara Kaye, Organizer of the Seattle Branch, SWP, were known as the KIRK-KAYE Tendency. Their disagreement with the National SWP was over the questions of the Negro struggle, the colonial revolution, the Vietnamese War, regroupment, woman's emancipation, and party organizational principles.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to EO 10450

In July, 1966, this source advised that the above group and others held a convention on July 9, 1966, at their headquarters, Freeway Hall, 3815 - Fifth Avenue Northeast, Seattle, Washington, having issued a call to "all signers of the FSP Nominating Petition at the 1964 Nominating Convention and all revolutionary socialists who wished to help build the FSP."

In October, 1964, a second source advised that the name Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) of the State of Washington was used by the Seattle Branch, SWP, in its then current political campaign.

The first source further advised that at the convention on July 9, 1966, the group adopted the name FSP of Washington, became a membership organization, and appointed a committee pending the general organization of the group.

According to the first source, the FSP held a meeting on July 24, 1966, at which CLARA FRASER gave the Executive Committee report, and the recommendations of the committee, including the selection of officers, were unanimously accepted by the membership. The officers selected were:

APPENDIX

FRANK KRASNOWSKY, Organizer;
GUS CARLSON, Associate Organizer;
MIRIAM RADER, Recording Secretary;
BOB PATRICK, Finances;
DICK FRASER, National Relations and writer of
documents;
CLARA FRASER, Publications, with other duties
assigned to other members.

In August, 1966, the first source furnished the August 5, 1966, issue of "The Freedom Socialist", self-described as the "Voice of the FSP of Washington." This publication states, "We are a new revolutionary socialism organization," stating that it is comprised of the former Seattle Branch, SWP, "individual independent radicals who were part of the 1964 united socialist electoral coalition which created the FSP," and "A new segment of radical youth who have recently adopted Marxism as their political philosophy."

APPENDIX

WASHINGTON CULTURAL COOPERATIVE (WCC)
Aka Washington Cultural Co-op Association

On February 23, 1960, a source reported the Communist Party (CP), Northwest District Committee, at a meeting in January, 1960, decided to prepare for opening a cooperative bookstore and directed the CP State Board to set up a Party committee for this purpose.

The above source also reported that at a state-wide CP conference held on August 27, 1960, CP District Chairman BURT NELSON reported on the WCC. NELSON announced the committee was determined to have the bookstore opened by the earliest possible date, probably October 15, (1960). He urged support of the WCC.

A second source in February and March, 1960, advised a committee of CP members during those months commenced organization of the WCC with authorized capital of \$2,000 which was to sell shares and make other plans for operation for a bookstore selling "progressive" literature at Seattle. In May and June 1960, this source reported BURT NELSON, on May 18, 1960, stated the CP District Literature Commission would concern itself with the bookstore and other types of literature to be sold. On May 31, 1960, BURT NELSON suggested October 1, 1960, as the tentative opening date of the bookstore.

A second source advised on November 2, 1960, the principal aim of the WCC is to establish a bookstore in the Seattle area inasmuch as this need has long been recognized by the Washington State CP due to difficulties encountered in maintaining a Party literature apparatus, and it is desired to have available public facilities to attract supporters and sympathizers. This source stated the WCC has obtained a location for its bookstore at 710 Stewart Street, Seattle, and operations commenced at that location on November 5, 1960.

A third source advised on May 16, 1966, the WCC held its annual meeting of shareholders at the Roosevelt Hotel, Seattle, on May 1, 1966. As a part of the business at this meeting, those present elected a new Board of Trustees. The new Board was instructed to meet at a future time at 710 Stewart Street, Seattle, the location of "Co-op Books," to elect new officers for the WCC for the coming year.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Seattle, Washington
January 30, 1967

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Report of SA R. BERT CARTER,
dated and captioned as above,
at Seattle, Washington

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 2-1-67

FROM : SAC, OKLAHOMA CITY (100-7212) -P*-

SUBJECT: CIRM

ReBulet to Albany 8-28-64, and Oklahoma City letter to Director 11-1-66.

No information pertaining to captioned matter has been developed by this office during the past three months.

- 100-9249-4
- ② - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - New York (Info.) (RM)
 - 1 - Oklahoma City
- JAG:TK
(4)

REC 22

100-442529-2097

1 FEB 2 1967



5010-108

7 FEB 8 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/31/67

FROM : SAC, NORFOLK (100-5921) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C

(OO: NEW YORK)

Re Norfolk letter to Bureau, 10/31/66.

There has been no information developed in any category (I through IV) for the period from 10/1/66, to 1/1/67.

It is to be noted, however, that [] who has furnished reliable information in the past, has been alerted periodically to the Bureau's interest in captioned matter. He has furnished no pertinent information in this reporting period the last contact being 1/30/67. b7D

Also, during this period two liaison sources on racial matters have been contacted, and they, too, furnished no pertinent information. They are identified as follows:

Dr. WARNER DU BOSE, JR., a white Presbyterian minister, who is minister of an all-Negro church and also President of Norfolk Ministerial Assoc., Council on Human Relations

WILLIAM THURMAN MERCER, a college professor at the Norfolk Division of Virginia State College, a predominantly Negro institution. V

At the time of contact with Mr. MERCER, he stated that he knew of no active chapters on the campus of the Norfolk Division of such organizations as Students for Democratic Society, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, or the DuBois Clubs.

Norfolk will remain alert for any information bearing on this matter, and the Bureau and interested offices will be promptly advised.

REC 22 100-442529-2098

FEB 2 1967



57 FEB 8 1967

1- Norfolk
LWK/mej (5)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

INT. SEC.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM : *W* SAC, BUFFALO (100-18520) (P)

SUBJECT: *R* COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

mm

DATE: 1/31/67

Shubert

Rerep SA KENNETH P. GLENNON, dated 10/31/66,
at Buffalo.

Informants and sources at Buffalo have reported
no information indicating Communist Party activity in
captioned matter with regard either to Strategy, Tactics,
or Penetration and Influence in Racial Organizations since
submission of rerep.

In view of this, no report will be submitted at
this time by Buffalo, UACB. Buffalo will maintain its
attention to this matter and submit report to reach Bureau
by 5/1/67.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (Info) (RM)
1 - Buffalo
KPG;jny
(4)

N

REC 18

100-442529-2099

2 FEB 2 1967

INT. SEC



57 FEB 8 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/31/67

FROM : *a/Ram* SAC, SAN JUAN (100-6702) (P*)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

OO - NEW YORK

Re San Juan letter to Bureau dated 10/10/66.

The files of the San Juan Office contain no pertinent information regarding captioned matter.

Case being placed in ~~pending~~ inactive status for submission of quarterly report or letter by 5/1/67.

REC 22

100-442529 - 2100

5 FEB 2 1967

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (RM)
1 - San Juan
FEG:lcw
(5)



7322
FEB 8 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Date February 2, 1967

To: XX Director FI 100-442529
 Att.: _____
☐ SAC _____ Title _____
☐ ASAC _____
☐ Supv. _____ Communist Influence in
☐ Agent _____ Racial Matters (CIRM)
☐ SE _____
☐ IC _____ IS-C
☐ CC _____
☐ Steno _____
☐ Clerk _____ Re: _____

ACTION DESIRED

- | | |
|--|---|
| ☐ Acknowledge | ☐ Open Case |
| ☐ Assign _____ Reassign _____ | ☐ Prepare lead cards |
| ☐ Bring file | ☐ Prepare tickler |
| ☐ Call me | ☐ Recharge serials |
| ☐ Correct | ☐ Return assignment card |
| ☐ Deadline _____ | ☐ Return file |
| ☐ Deadline passed | ☐ Return serials |
| ☐ Delinquent | ☐ Search and return |
| ☐ Discontinue | ☐ See me |
| ☐ Expedite | ☐ Send Serials _____ |
| ☐ File | to _____ |
| ☐ For information | ☐ Submit new charge out |
| ☐ Handle | ☐ Submit report by _____ |
| ☐ Initial & return | ☐ Type |
| ☐ Leads need attention | |
| ☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken. | |

20.17.18.19.20.21.22.23.24.25.26.27.28.29.30.31.32.33.34.35.36.37.38.39.40.41.42.43.44.45.46.47.48.49.50.51.52.53.54.55.56.57.58.59.60.61.62.63.64.65.66.67.68.69.70.71.72.73.74.75.76.77.78.79.80.81.82.83.84.85.86.87.88.89.90.91.92.93.94.95.96.97.98.99.100.
WATSON
Bur. CC's
corrected
2/23/67
Q m w/ci

Prep of SA Charles J. Wyland, dated 1/31/67. Bureau requested to add to the administrative page:

All persons identified as members of the Communist Party are listed on the Security Index or are informants or sources, or thereafter listed.

SAC Joe D. Jamieson
 Office Philadelphia

See reverse side

DE 100-32457

Copies of this report are being designated for informational purposes to local intelligence agencies.

Also, one information copy is designated for the New York Office since that office is office of origin for the main substantive organizational case involved.

All persons named herein as members of the Communist Party who reside in the Detroit Division territory are listed in the Security Index or their informants or sources.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

Location

✓ DE T-1 is

b7D

Characterization of WILLIAM ALLAN

✓ DE T-2 is

Characterization of THOMAS DEWITT DENNIS, JR.

✓ DE T-3 is

Characterization of THOMAS DEWEITT DENNIS, JR.

✓ DE T-4 is

b7D

✓ DE T-5 is

✓ DE T-6 is

PSI

✓ DE T-7 is

Characterization of BETSEY BARNES

✓ DE T-8 is

Characterization of BETSEY BARNES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

Copy to: 1 - NIS, Chicago (RM)
1 - G-2, Detroit (RM)
1 - OSI, USAF, Dayton (RM)
Report of: SA FREDERICK J. PETERSEN Office: Detroit, Michigan
Date: January 31, 1967

File Number: 100-32457 Bureau File Number: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: At Michigan District Communist Party meetings
October to December, 1966, "black power" and
the status of the Negro in the local community,
including CP involvement, discussed. On 11/4/66,
at a Friday Night Socialist Forum meeting held
in Detroit, Michigan, BETSEY BARNES, National
Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance,
spoke of the current plight of the Negro and
of the effect of "white backlash." *mich*

- P* -

DETAILS:

This report contains pertinent information as to
Communist activities during the period October 16, 1966,
to January 15, 1967, to influence the racial movement.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~GROUP I~~
~~Excluded from Automatic~~
~~Downgrading and Declassification~~

AT DETROIT, MICHIGAN

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

A. COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CP)

1. Plans, strategy, Party line, and the like made at District and lower level meetings, including expressions by local leaders and rank and file members.

DE T-1 advised on October 18, 1966, that a meeting of the Michigan District CP (MDCP) State Committee was held in a room of the Park Shelton Hotel in Detroit, on October 16, 1966.

THOMAS DEWITT DENNIS JR.

According to the informant, during this meeting, THOMAS DENNIS discussed the subject of "black power." DENNIS wondered why this slogan horrifies the white community, that is, the so called ruling class. He stated he is an active supporter of "black power" and makes no secret of it. He said that this term sprang from Communist ideology and has the Communist roots in a party declaration, going back to 1924 when the CP, USA, declared its doctrine of self-determination for the black people in the United States of America. DENNIS also spoke of the plight of the Negro youth and of establishing a special "freedom budget", consisting of some 110 million dollars to be financed by the Federal Government. He mentioned during his talk the following as being two CP postulates:

- (1) "change of the ownership of everything in the black Ghetto from white to Negro owned;
- (2) bringing massive amount of money into the Ghetto to pay for everything what there is to pay."

DE T-2 advised during June, 1966, that THOMAS DEWITT DENNIS, JR., attended the 18th National CP Convention held in New York, New York, on June 22 to 26, 1966, at which he was elected to the National Committee of the CP, USA.

DE T-3 advised on June 27, 1966, that DENNIS is currently the Chairman of the MDCP.

DE T-4 advised on October 27, 1966, that during a meeting on October 23, 1966, of the MDCP Ford Auto Club at 143 Hazelwood, Detroit, WILLIAM ALLAN spoke ^{mich} concerning the local employment situation. According to the informant, ALLAN stated that the Ford Motor Company is bringing in skilled trade workers from Europe rather than training its own Negro employees. It was then suggested by another individual present at this meeting that the CP's position should be to insist that this company start a quick training program for Negroes so that they can be promoted at these skilled jobs.

DE T-1 advised on March 7, 1966, that WILLIAM ALLAN currently is a member of the Club Leadership Council, MDCP, and he is also the Michigan Correspondent for "The Worker".

"The Worker" is an east coast Communist newspaper.

DE T-5 advised on November 18, 1966, that a meeting of the MDCP Trade Union Discussion Group was held on November 16, 1966, at 5763 Linwood, Detroit. During the meeting, WILLIAM ALLAN spoke concerning the Negro and Civil Rights. ALLAN claimed that the Michigan Civil Rights Commission is simply an organization set-up to whitewash discrimination in this state and they offered no plan to alleviate conditions here. He stated the CP must take affirmative action through its union activities to work for the betterment of the Negro. According to the informant, ALLAN offered no concrete plan for such an achievement.

DE T-1 advised on November 25, 1966, that at a meeting of the MDCP State Board held on November 22, 1966, at 19715 Monica, Detroit, THOMAS DENNIS and others present discussed the current world situation with regard to China. DENNIS stated he was interested only in what is the true position of the Chinese regarding the Negro question. He indicated that he likes their insistence that Negroes in the United States take arms and stage a mass revolution.

DE T-1 advised on December 16, 1966, that a meeting of the MDCP State Committee was held on December 11, 1966, in the Cass Room of the Pick-Fort Shelby Hotel in Detroit. At this meeting, THOMAS DENNIS again spoke concerning the situation of the Negro, particularly with regard to politics. He said that Negro representation in the last election increased by 500 per cent but this does not mean much since Negro representation is extremely low. He said that the Negro Commission of the CP setup a chart of demands for the Negroes to achieve in the 1968 elections in the various states. According to DENNIS, particular concentration will be given to these efforts in the States of California, Illinois, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. He said the number of Negroes in the United States Congress must be increased in the next election to 20 members. He said Michigan presently has two congressmen and there must be a gain of at least two men. He proposed that a Negro candidate must be run for Congress from the Flint, Michigan area which he said must be "our next goal." According to DENNIS Michigan has the highest percentage of Negroes in the State Legislature and he pointed out there are three Negro senators and nine members of the Legislature in Lansing, Michigan, at the present time.

B. THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)

- 1.. Plans, strategy, Party line, and the like made at District and lower level meetings, including expressions by local leaders and rank and file members.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

DE T-6 advised on December 15, 1966, that at a Friday Night Socialist Forum (FNSF) meeting held on November 4, 1966, at 3737 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, BETSEY BARNES was the principle speaker. According to the informant, BETSEY BARNES is a college girl from a well-to-do family and she became interested in the plight of those who are downtrodden and discriminated against and decided to devote her life to work in their behalf.

BETSEY BARNES' talk concerned the civil rights movement and one of the main points which she made was that in spite of all the legislation and all the Federal Court rulings of the last decade the Negroes are worse off now, politically and economically, than they were before. Also, she said concerning the "white backlash" that the once generous donations through church organizations and various social groups toward civil rights have been greatly reduced.

✓ A characterization of the FNSF appears in the appendix hereto.

DE T-7 advised on August 19, 1966, that as of August, 1966, BETSEY BARNES was the National Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

✓ A characterization of the YSA appears in the appendix hereto.

DE T-8 advised on November 23, 1966, that BARNES is currently a member of the SWP at New York, New York.

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

No information developed.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

No information developed.

APPENDIX

FRIDAY NIGHT SOCIALIST FORUM

On May 12, 1966, a source advised that the Friday Night Socialist Forum (FNSF) is a name used by the Detroit, Michigan, Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in sponsoring forums, socials and other functions which are open to the public. Primarily, FNSF pertains to weekly public forums held at SWP headquarters, 3737 Woodward, Detroit, for the purpose of spreading propaganda of the SWP, developing contacts, facilitating recruitment and members into the SWP, and presenting subjects of a controversial nature in the social, political and economic fields. Usually speakers are members of the SWP and they give the socialist viewpoint of the subject discussed. The money collected at these FNSFs goes into the SWP treasury in Detroit.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~APPENDIXYOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist", (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the founding declaration of YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

A source advised on May 23, 1966, that the original YSA was an organization formed during October, 1957, in New York City by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

The source further advised on May 23, 1966, that the YSA is dominated and controlled on a national basis by the SWP through having SWP members comprise exclusively the National Executive Committee (NEC). The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section for the SWP and the main source of new SWP members.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Detroit, Michigan
January 31, 1967

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

Title	Communist Influence in Racial Matters
Character	Internal Security - C
Reference	Report at Detroit, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE PHILADELPHIA	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 1/31/67	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 10/3/66 - 1/24/67
TITLE OF CASE CIRM		REPORT MADE BY CHARLES J. WYLAND	TYP MB
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

Reference

Report of SA CHARLES J. WYLAND dated 10/31/66
at Philadelphia.

Q-17 to **Ph**
Copy to **NY**
Date **2/20/67**
By **A. W. C. / C. J.**
Remarks **merged with on**
Pages 4 & 8. Rev. cc's covered.

- P -

LeadsNEW YORK (INFORMATION):

A copy of this report is being designated for New York pursuant to Bureau instructions.

PHILADELPHIA:

AT PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Will follow and report activities in this matter.

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

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1 - OSI, Philadelphia (RM)
1 - NISO, Philadelphia (RM)
1 - MI, Philadelphia (RM)
1 - New York (100-153735) (Info) (RM)
2 - Philadelphia (100-47672)

COPIES DESTROYED

R209 DEC 30 1970

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC, SER;
Request Recd.	Request Recd. F. ISD, CRD, RAO
Date Fwd.	DATE FWD: 2/20/67
How Fwd.	HOW FWD: R/S
By	By: D. W. C. / C. J.

Notations

Inf. Sec.

77 FEB 21 1967

100-442529-924970

PH 100-47672

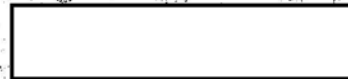
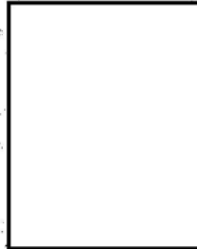
Administrative Data

The Special Agent who observed the area around City Hall on October 14, 1966, was SA JOHN R. WINEBERG.

This report is classified ~~confidential~~ since data reported from PH T-1 through PH T-6 could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

Informants

✓ PH T-1



✓ PH T-2

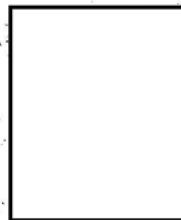
Characterization of TED BASSETT b7D

✓ PH T-3

Characterizations of TED BASSETT, JAMES DOLSEN, JOAN AYCOX



✓ PH T-4



✓ PH T-5



✓ PH T-6

All persons identified as members of the Communist Party are listed on the Security Index or are informants or sources, or thereafter listed.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - OSI, Philadelphia (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - NISO, Philadelphia (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - MI, Philadelphia (REGISTERED MAIL)

Report of: CHARLES J. WYLAND Office: PHILADELPHIA,
Date: 1/31/67 PENNSYLVANIA

Field Office File #: 100-47672 Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: THIS REPORT COVERS THE PERIOD 10/1/66 THROUGH
12/31/66. HENRY WINSTON, National Chairman, CPUSA,
appeared before a group to explain "Black Power"
as "freedom from social and economic oppression. TED BAS-
SETT, columnist for "The Worker," claimed news media dis-
torted term "Black Power" which resulted in the white back-
lash. Members of CPEPD encouraged to participate in demon-
stration at Girard College; however, CECIL MOORE, NAACP
President, threatened to remove bodily from picket line.
CP, except for a few individual members, has no ties with
the Negro community. MARTIN LUTHER KING appeared in Phila-
delphia on 10/9/66. CP members participated in demonstra-
tion at Girard College. *Penn W.*

- P -

Details: COMMUNIST STRATEGY

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.
(CPUSA)

A. PLANS, STRATEGY, PARTY LINE AND THE LIKE
MADE AT NATIONAL MEETINGS, INCLUDING EX-
PRESSIONS BY NATIONAL AND OTHER FUNCTIONARIES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~
~~Excluded from automatic~~
~~downgrading and~~
~~declassification~~

On October 5, 1966, PH T-1 advised that on October 1, 1966, ~~HENRY WINSTON~~, National Chairman, Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA), attended a meeting at the residence of ~~WILLIAM CRAWFORD~~, [redacted] Philadelphia, Pa., a current CP member. This meeting was reportedly arranged by members of the Philadelphia Branch of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) with some Negroes in Philadelphia who were interested in the CP position on "Black Power." *BILL CRAWFORD*

b6
b7c

✓ A characterization of the DCA appears in the appendix section of this report.

WINSTON stated the party's thought on "Black Power" was that Negroes who live in a predominantly Negro area should strengthen their voting registrations and make themselves conscious of the necessity for voting and supporting Negro candidates. This would give them freedom from social and economic oppression. In the South there are many areas where the Negroes are an overwhelmingly majority of the population. These people could show their power by conducting an economic boycott against the stores which discriminate against them.

On November 2, 1966, PH T-1 advised that TED BASSETT, columnist for "The Worker," an east coast communist publication, appeared at a meeting of the Philadelphia Social Science Forum Committee (PSSFC) on October 28, 1966, and discussed the term "Black Power."

On January 10 and 11, 1960, PH T-2 advised that at the January 9, 1960, session of the reconvened New York State CP Convention, ~~TED BASSETT~~ was elected to the *Comm.*
New York State Committee.

On December 13, 1966, PH T-3 advised TED BASSETT was present at a meeting of the National Committee, CPUSA, held in early December 1966 in New York.

A characterization of the PSSFC appears in the appendix section of this report.

BASSETT in his speech was critical of the news media for distorting the real meaning of the term "Black Power." As a result of this distortion, the American people who had been sympathetic to the Negroes' struggle for equality reversed

their feelings and are now anti-Negro. According to BASSETT, the distortion of this phrase by the press resulted in a white backlash in the recent election and has set back the Negroes in their struggle for equality.

BASSETT explained that "Black Power" does not mean violence, it means the Negro people are attempting to get their share in government and carry on business like the white people. It was felt that if the Negroes united they might be able to present a unified force and this force was termed "Black Power."

**B. PLANS, STRATEGY, PARTY LINE AND THE LIKE
MADE AT DISTRICT AND LOWER LEVEL MEETINGS,
INCLUDING EXPRESSIONS BY LOCAL LEADERS
AND RANK AND FILE MEMBERS**

On October 11, 1966, PH T-4 advised that at a meeting of the North Philadelphia Club, Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (CPEPD) held on October 6, 1966, a discussion was held concerning the demonstration at Girard College sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). It was mentioned the members of the club should make an attempt to participate in this picket line.

PENN. On October 25, 1966, PH T-3 advised that at a meeting of the District Board, CPEPD, which was held on October 11, 1966, discussion was held concerning the picket line demonstration at Girard College, which was sponsored by the NAACP. SANDY PATRINOS, District Organization Secretary, stated she and JARVIS TYNER, a current CP member and chairman of the Philadelphia Community Club of the DCA, had joined the picket line at Girard College on Tuesday, October 11, 1966, and that CECIL MOORE, NAACP President, had attacked them as communists. MOORE stopped the picket line earlier than planned because of their presence. PATRINOS desired a decision from the District Board on whether they should continue to participate in these demonstrations. After some discussion it was resolved they should continue to participate in these demonstrations but if CECIL MOORE carries out his threat to do physical harm by bodily removing them from the line, they were to leave immediately so as not to disrupt the demonstration.

PENN. On October 25, 1966, PH T-3 advised that at a meeting of the North Philadelphia Club, CPEPD, held on October 20, 1966, FRANK AYCOX, an active member of that club, urged those present to participate in a demonstration at Girard College and to bring along some of their friends. AYCOX stated he was active with a group which is opposed to the re-election of CECIL MOORE. AYCOX also claimed he was active in obtaining membership applications for the NAACP and sending them to New York City, where they would be processed as quickly as possible, in order to allow them to vote in the NAACP election in December.

On October 21, 1966, PH T-5 advised that at a meeting of the Southwest Club, CPEPD, held on October 20, 1966, SANDY PATRINOS and DOROTHY KUNKLE, an active member of that PENN. club, announced they desired as many white CP and non-CP members as possible to participate in the NAACP demonstration at Girard College on October 22, 1966. This announcement was made because of the predominance of Negro demonstrators at Girard College.

PATRINOS reported that she and JARVIS TYNER recently participated in a demonstration at Girard College, but CECIL MOORE emerged from the picket line to make a speech which amounted to Red baiting and said that DuBois Club members should immediately leave the picket line or he would expose them. According to PATRINOS, MOORE did not name any individuals as being members of the DCA.

On November 18, 1966, PH T-3 advised a meeting of the Negro Commission, CPEPD, was held on November 10, 1966, at 3237 Powelton Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa. At this meeting it was suggested that BILL CRAWFORD, a member of the North Philadelphia Club, CPEPD, maintain his contacts with people active in the equality struggle. CRAWFORD stated the average Negro today does not feel black-white unity is necessary. They feel they can do it alone. According to CRAWFORD, the party rejects this. CRAWFORD felt that rejection in itself was not enough. There is a need for money in the civil rights movement, but there is no money coming from the ghettos.

PENN. On December 13, 1966, PH T-3 advised that at a meeting of the District Board, CPEPD, held December 8, 1966, DEBBY AMIS, a member of the National Committee, CPUSA, and a

PENN. member of the District Board, who also attended a meeting of the National Negro Commission, CPUSA, in New York City earlier that date, gave a report on the Negro question. She announced that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, National Secretary on Negro Work, would arrive in Philadelphia on January 28, 1967, for a few days during which time he would meet with some of the "left Negro forces" in the Negro peoples movement.

PENN. AMIS also reported on the local civil rights groups. She stated CECIL MOORE will undoubtedly be elected as president of the Philadelphia Branch of the NAACP because his opposition has withdrawn. BILL MATHIS, leader of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in Philadelphia, was described as an opportunist. His efforts to rebuild CORE have been based on a program that could be called anti-semitic because he was exposing the Jewish merchants in the ghettos. Concerning the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), JOHN WILSON was the leader in that movement; but FRED MEELY, who had previously been the leader, had returned to Philadelphia and will probably regain control. SNCC has no program or ties with the community except with a few high school teenagers. } PENN.

AMIS further stated the civil rights movement in Philadelphia was in very bad shape and very much divided. The Philadelphia Branch of the DCA had made some gains but only with some leaders of some organizations and not in the community. The CP, except for a few individual members, has no ties with the Negro community. AMIS felt the absence of the party was one of the weaknesses in the civil rights movement. As a result, a national conference has been called by some civil rights leaders and it will be known as the Afro-American Conference. According to AMIS, the party intends to participate in this conference.

At the conclusion of the above report AMIS recommended that classes on white chauvinism be held within the district. This recommendation was returned to the Executive Committee for further discussion.

On December 14, 1966, PH T-3 advised that at a meeting of the Executive Committee, CPEPD, held December 13, 1966, the main point on the agenda concerned Negro work. It was suggested and agreed by those present that classes on Negro work were needed. It was further agreed the Executive Committee would make the recommendation to the District Board

that two classes on Negro work be held on January 30 and February 27, 1967, for the purpose of teaching the importance of the struggle for equality.

C. PLANS, ETC., AS REVEALED IN PARTY PUBLICATIONS AND OTHER PROPAGANDA MEDIA, SUCH AS WRITTEN DIRECTIVES, PRESS RELEASES, AND THE LIKE

On page four of "The Worker" dated November 29, 1966, appeared an article entitled "Negroes Advance in Pennsylvania Vote," by JAMES DOLSEN. This article reflects significant gains were achieved in the field of increased Negro representation in the state. For the first time in a century and a half, a Negro was elected to the State Senate. He was overwhelmingly chosen over the Republican opponent to represent the Third Senatorial District in North Philadelphia, where there is a heavy concentration of Negro vote.

Philadelphia Negroes now comprise one quarter of its population, or 2,000,000; and during the recent years they have been insistently demanding representation in the lily white senate. The pressure on the leaders of both parties has compelled them to select a Negro in one or more of the more heavily populated Negro areas.

On December 22, 1966, PH T-3 advised JAMES DOLSEN was a charter member of the CP and a current member of the West Philadelphia Club, CPEPD.

COMMUNIST TACTICS

A. APPEARANCE OF MARTIN LUTHER KING IN PHILADELPHIA, OCTOBER 9, 1966

On page six of the October 9, 1966, issue of the "Philadelphia Inquirer," a local Philadelphia newspaper, appeared an article entitled "MEREDITH Challenges Negroes to 'Shape Up; KING Decries Violence." According to this article, JAMES MEREDITH, a lonesome traveler of the civil rights movement, and MARTIN LUTHER KING attended a civil rights rally on Sunday, October 9, 1966, at the Arena, 46th and Market Streets. This rally was sponsored by the Interfaith - Interracial Council of the Clergy. At this rally MEREDITH stated the "American Negro has a 'lot of shaping up' to do before he can expect to live better." He told the Negro males to start

acting like men and urged the Negro communities to strive for good schools instead of squabbling over integrated education.

KING advised the 1,500 people present that this "Black Power" thing has taught the Negro one thing, that is, there are going to be some serious fights among the Negroes to determine where the Negro is going. KING stated there is no separate black path to power and there is no separate white path to power. If every Negro in the United States turns to violence, KING stated he would stand as a lone voice saying this was not the way. He indicated he was sick and tired of violence. He also stated the Negro needs the white man to free him from his fears and the white man needs the Negro to free him from his guilt. The destinies of the white and Negro are intertwined whether the people like it or not.

B. DEMONSTRATION BY PHILADELPHIA STUDENTS
FOR A FREE SOCIETY, OCTOBER 14, 1966

On October 14, 1966, Lieutenant GEORGE FENCL, Philadelphia Police Department Civil Disobedience Unit, advised he had received information that the Philadelphia Students for Free Society (PSFS) would hold a demonstration on the east side of City Hall at 3:30 p.m., October 14, 1966. The purpose of the demonstration was to support the right of the Negro family who had recently moved into an all-white neighborhood in the Kensington area of Philadelphia.

The "Philadelphia Inquirer," a daily and Sunday newspaper in Philadelphia, in its issue dated November 4, 1965, on page 28, carried an article captioned "100 Rally For 'Peace' November 27 in Washington." The article discussed the groups participating in a peace march planned for Washington, D. C., on November 27, 1965. Among the groups listed taking part was the PSFS, a high school group from the Germantown area in Philadelphia. JOAN AYCOX, ^{PENN.} advisor of the PSFS, was quoted as saying the organization is "loosely organized with no membership cards, dues or officers." She indicated there was no formal organization.

On September 27, 1966, PH T-3 advised that JOAN AYCOX is a member of the Youth Club, CPEPD.

A Special Agent of the FBI observed with the Philadelphia Civil Disobedience Unit the area around City Hall on October 14, 1966, from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m.; however, no demonstration took place.

C. DEMONSTRATION AT GIRARD COLLEGE
BY NAACP, OCTOBER 1966

On October 24, 1966, PH T-5 advised the following individuals, all of whom are members of the CPEPD, participated at the NAACP demonstration at Girard College on October 22, 1966:

PENN. { SANDY PATRINOS
JARVIS TYNER
MELVIN "MICKEY" METELITS
NURULDEEN STOREY
ELGIN CURRY

During the course of this demonstration, CECIL MOORE, President, NAACP, made an announcement on the public address system that they, meaning the NAACP, do not want any subversives in the picket line. He called to MICKEY METELITS by name and demanded he leave the picket line. METELITS and TYNER immediately left the line.

On Page 24 of the October 23, 1966, issue of "The Inquirer," a local Philadelphia newspaper, Philadelphia, Pa., appeared an article entitled "MOORE expels 'Reds' Among Girard Pickets." This article reflects CECIL B. MOORE ordered what he termed were Communists to leave his picket line at Girard College on Saturday, October 22, 1966. MOORE, President of the Philadelphia Branch of the NAACP, had called for a rally at Girard College in protest to its exclusion of Negro children. When MOORE arrived on the picket line he joined the line of march briefly and then stepped on a flatbed truck, grabbed the microphone, and stated that the communist white folks must get out of the line. He indicated they've got enough problems being black, and the next time he would not ask them to leave the line but he was going to put them out. He added, "I'm for Black Power. I'm not for Red power and

PH 100-47672

I want that understood." This article further relates that MOORE later said he was referring to three people, one of whom was a Negro, and one of the three was affiliated with the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America, which earlier this year was labeled a communist front organization by the United States Attorney General.

On November 4, 1966, PH T-6 advised that at a meeting of the Southwest Club, CPEPD, held on November 3, 1966, discussion was held concerning the demonstration at the Girard College sponsored by the NAACP. MICKEY METELITS joined the picket march but CECIL MOORE, President of the NAACP, called him by name and stated he did not want any Commies in that line. METELITS got out of line and SANDRA PATRINOS joined the line. MOORE then called her by name and repeated he did not want any Commies in line. MOORE commented he wanted white people in line but did not want any Reds.

APPENDIXCharacterization of OrganizationsPHILADELPHIA SOCIAL SCIENCE FORUM COMMITTEE (PSSFC)

A source advised on November 14 and 17, 1958 that a meeting of the District Education Commission, Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (CPEPD), was held November 13, 1958 at 3425 Powelton Avenue, Philadelphia. At this meeting DANIEL RUBIN, the District Education Director, presented a proposal for a series of forums under the nominal sponsorship of the Philadelphia Social Science Forum Committee (PSSFC). The source stated that PSSFC was merely a paper organization and this series of forums was organized by the District Education Commission (CPEPD) and had to be approved by the District Committee (CPEPD) before being put into effect.

This source stated on June 12, 1959; November 5, 1959; and October 21, 1960 that the PSSFC remained under the control of the District Education Commission, CPEPD.

A second source reported on October 9, 1961, that the District Executive Committee (DEC), CPEPD, met on October 2, 1961, and approved plans to hold and to support a new series of forums of PSSFC beginning November 10, 1961 and ending in May, 1962.

The second source on May 8, 1964 advised that the main purpose of the PSSFC is to bring to Philadelphia well known speakers who have a pro-Communist point of view. Included among the speakers each year are national leaders of the Communist Party, USA.

The second source added on May 10, 1966 that the PSSFC continued to meet during 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, and 1966 and that it remains under the control of the CPEPD.

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to its constitution are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anticommunism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC has varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-47672

January 31, 1966

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA CHARLES J. WYLAND dated and captioned as above at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CHICAGO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN CHICAGO	DATE JAN 31 1967	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/13-25/67
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS, CHICAGO DIVISION		REPORT MADE BY LELAND G. RICHIE	TYPED BY jeo
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA LELAND G. RICHIE dated 10/31/66, at Chicago.

LEAD

CHICAGO

- P* -
0-17 & CG cc NY. 2/16/67
Municipal Pg 15. Bur. cc's
Concluded
Dma/ci

How
F. J. Dwyer

How
Pg 17

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will continue to follow and report communist influence in racial matters within the Chicago Division.

ADMINISTRATIVE

All persons mentioned in this report warranting investigation, except sources, are on the Security Index.

This report is classified ~~confidential~~ because it contains data received from CG T-1 through CG T-9, the unauthorized disclosure of which could lead to the identification of these informants of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED <i>M. J. R.</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: Bureau (100-442529) (RM) CSI, Chicago (Via Courier) Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois (Via Courier) SO, Chicago (Via Courier) New York (100-153735) (Info) (RM) Chicago (100-41324)		100-442529-2103 10 FEB 3 1967 EX-115	
Dissemination Record of Attached Report:		Notations	
AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.;		7/1/67	
DATE FORW. 2/16/67		RD Page 10	
BY: R. B. Dma/ci		9249-0	

Individuals mentioned in this report concerning whom subversive characterizations were not included were checked through the indices of the Chicago Division and this check was negative as to these individuals or insufficient identifying information was available from which a subversive characterization could be constructed.

INFORMANTS

Source

✓ CG T-1

[redacted]

Location

[redacted] -to be serialized

[redacted]

-to be serialized

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✓ CG T-2

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CG T-3

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Source

✓ CG T-5

✓ CG T-6

✓ CG T-7

✓ CG T-8

✓ CG T-9

Anonymous

✓ CG T-10

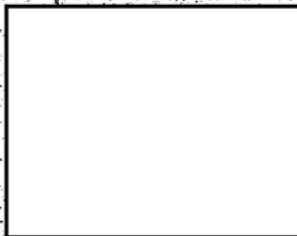
Security Section,
Bureau of Inspectional Services,
Chicago Police Department

✓ CG T-11

Former PSI

(requested)

Location



[redacted] to be serialized

Characterization of EDWARD LEE
HOLMGREN

Characterization of EDWARD LEE
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COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 1 - OSI, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston,
Illinois (Via Courier)
1 - NISO, Chicago (Via Courier)

Copy to:

Report of:

SA LELAND G. RICHIE

Office:

Chicago, Illinois

Date:

1/31/67

Field Office File #:

100-41324

Bureau File #:

100-442529

Title:

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL
MATTERS, CHICAGO DIVISION

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

✓ Communist Party (CP) of Illinois continues program to influence direction of Negro civil rights movement in Chicago area. Organizations in which CP of Illinois members active are the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCCO), National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Negro American Labor Council (NALC), and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). ✓ CP of Illinois currently stressing utilization of CP caucus within NALC in attempt to strengthen Negro-labor alliance within civil rights movement. ✓ CP of Illinois reportedly believes that there is no prospect of organizing any major CP activities or CP programs within the civil rights movement in the immediate future since none of the civil rights organizations in Chicago are developing any new ideas. ✓ JAMES WEST, member of the State Board, CP of Illinois, reportedly feels that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Chairman, CP of Illinois, misinterprets the Negro civil rights struggle and over-emphasizes economic goals, jobs and living standards. ✓ WEST feels that emphasis should be on ideological discussions with Negroes on the part of the CP and the selective recruit of Negroes for the CP. ✓ Current program of CP calls

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from Automatic
Downgrading and
Declassification~~

CG 100-41324

for NALC to cooperate with the Industrial Union Department (IUD), AFL-CIO, in organizing the unorganized Negro workers in Chicago area with particular emphasis on the organizing of hospital workers. LIGHTFOOT stated he is firm believer in the basic idea of "Black Power" because he feels there is a definite need for black unity. Identity of CP of Illinois members active in civil rights organizations set forth where pertinent. EDWARD LEE HOLMGREN, former CP member, named as Chairman of Leadership Council for Metropolitan Chicago Open Housing Communities.

- P* -

- 1a -

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DETAILS: AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The following organization mentioned in this report, which has not been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450, is characterized in the appendix section of this report:

✓ African American Heritage Association
(AAHA)

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

A. Communist Party (CP), USA

1. Plans, Strategy, Party-Line and the Like Made at CP of Illinois Meetings, Including Expressions by CP of Illinois Leaders and Rank and File Members

a. General

The CP of Illinois has exerted little or no policy influence in the Chicago Freedom Movement in the Chicago area.

Two members of the CP of Illinois are still assigned to the Chicago Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), for purposes of exercising and implementing CP of Illinois decisions on current racial issues within the NAACP; however, neither of these individuals hold any influence within the NAACP. One of these individuals, who has held office in the Chicago Branch of the NAACP, does not contemplate running again for office in the organization and the other individual is not currently meeting with the CP of Illinois.

An individual, a member of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), who is also a member of the CP of Illinois, remains a member of CORE; however, he has been unable to exercise any major influence in CORE.

Relative to the West Side Organization (WSO), at the present time there are no CP members active in this organization and the CP exercises no influence within the WSO.

Relative to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), at the present time the CP of Illinois has no one active in that organization and the CP exercises no influence in this organization.

Relative to the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCO), the CP of Illinois has two individuals who have connections with the CCCO but are in no position to influence the policy and activities of the CCCO.

Relative to the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the CP of Illinois at the present time exercises little influence within the SNCC. A member of the CP of Illinois has established a relationship with MONROE SHARP, the Chairman of the SNCC in Chicago.

Relative to the Chicago Urban League (CUL), the CP at the present time exercises no influence within the CUL.

Concerning the Negro American Labor Council (NALC), there are four CP of Illinois members who are in a position in the NALC to actively implement CP decisions on racial matters within this organization. These four CP members are currently attempting to establish a strong CP of Illinois influence within the NALC.

At the present time, the CP of Illinois continues to emphasize the Negro-labor alliance and has selected the NALC as the organization through which the CP will attempt to strengthen and extend Negro-labor alliance within the Chicago Freedom Movement.

Relative to the integration of schools in the Chicago area, the CP of Illinois continues to have a policy of wait-and-see concerning any program they desire to implement because of the recent appointment of JAMES REDMOND as the new Chicago School Superintendent.

(CG T-1, 1/17/67)

The CP of Illinois influence in the Chicago Freedom Movement can be summed up as follows:

The CP of Illinois claims that they have a program and policy relative to the Chicago Freedom Movement; however, in reality the CP of Illinois exerts little, if any, influence in the Freedom Movement in the Chicago area.

The civil rights organizations active in the Chicago area in which the CP of Illinois attempts to exert some influence are as follows:

CCCO
CORE
CUL
NALC
NAACP
SCLC
SNCC
WSO

The CP of Illinois still has ~~LESTER DAVIS~~, a CP of Illinois member, assigned to the Chicago Branch of the NAACP but at the current time DAVIS is doing little or nothing to implement CP policy relative to the NAACP.

Relative to CORE, ^{SI}EUGENE TOURNOUR, a member of the CP of Illinois, is also a member of CORE. How much influence TOURNOUR exercises in CORE is not known.

Relative to the SCLC, at the current time there are no CP of Illinois members active in this organization.

Relative to the SNCC and the CUL, there are at the current time no known CP of Illinois members active in these two organizations.

Concerning the CCCO, EUGENE TOURNOUR is a salaried staff member of the CCCO and is considered to be one of ~~ALBERT RABY~~'s right-hand men. RABY is the convenor of the CCCO. TOURNOUR is specifically assigned by the CCCO to the job of organizing hospital workers in the Chicago area. ~~HERBERT WRIGHT~~, also a CP member, is an alternate delegate from the NALC to the CCCO. At the present time, TOURNOUR and WRIGHT exert very little, if any, influence in the CCCO.

Concerning the NALC, the CP of Illinois currently has four individuals, all CP members who form a collective from the CP of Illinois within the NALC. The main objective of this collective is to involve the NALC in a program of organizing the unorganized Negro workers in the Chicago area, with particular emphasis on organizing Negro hospital workers. This NALC program is to be carried on with the assistance of the Industrial Union Department (IUD) of the AFL-CIO.

(CG T-2, 1/10/67)

b. Meeting of CP of Illinois
Leaders Working in Chicago
Freedom Movement

A meeting of CP of Illinois leaders working in the Chicago Freedom Movement in the Chicago area was held on January 9, 1967, at Chicago. There was a general discussion concerning the present civil rights movement in Chicago and it was concluded that there is no prospect of organizing any major CP activities or CP programs within the civil rights movement in the immediate future since none of the civil rights organizations in Chicago are developing any new ideas.

(CG T-2, 1/10/67)

c. CP of Illinois Staff Meetings

Meeting of the CP of Illinois Staff was held on October 12, 1966, at Chicago.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT mentioned that the National CP Officers were interested concerning the status of the Freedom Movement in Chicago.

HERBERT WRIGHT spoke and discussed the problems in the CCCO and stated that ROBERT LUCAS, Chairman of the Chicago Branch of CORE, and TIMUEL BLACK, President of the Chicago Chapter of the NALC, were part of a group in the CCCO who were attempting to get rid of ALBERT RABY, convenor of the CCCO. He stated that all of the organizations within CCCO are mostly paper organizations and these organizations do not have large memberships. He stated that the marches conducted in Chicago during the summer of 1966 calling for open housing were not wise and that they should have centered the marches around economic issues.

LIGHTFOOT also stated that most of the organizations affiliated with the CCCO have no mass following. He also stated that the NALC has a good potential within the Chicago Freedom Movement in Chicago but it has been almost impossible to deal with TIMUEL BLACK of the NALC. He added that they should consider attempting to have BLACK removed as President of the Chicago Branch of the NALC.

(CG T-2, 10/19/66)

A staff meeting of the CP of Illinois was held on October 24, 1966, at Chicago.

Among those in attendance were JACK KLING, LOU DISKIN, and HERBERT WRIGHT. KLING stated that after the State Board meeting of the CP of Illinois on October 18, 1966, a committee was set up to discuss the Chicago Freedom Movement and that the following CP members would be members of this committee:

EARL DURHAM
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
- HERBERT WRIGHT
EUGENE TOURNOUR

(CG T-2, 10/24/66)

d. CP of Illinois Club Meetings

On September 14, 1966, the CP of Illinois, South Central Freedom of the Press Committee, also known as the South Side Section of the CP of Illinois, held a meeting in Chicago, Illinois.

SI
ISHMAEL FLORY a member of the South Side Section of the CP of Illinois, said that some right-wingers, some Jews and some Negroes have infiltrated the freedom and civil rights organizations in Chicago and have split and confused the people. These people are paid by the American Government to do these things to confuse the Negroes and FLORY stated that STOKELY CARMICHAEL and MARTIN LUTHER KING have been used in this regard. FLORY stated that more people need to study Marxism and Leninism and added that CP leaders should be out in the Negro neighborhoods organizing the Negroes and the present freedom and civil rights leaders should be replaced.

SI
VERSTA MILLER said that the CP has not forgotten about the Negro and that the CP had sent someone from the National Office and he then introduced FRANCES AVERY.

See. (P)
FRANCES AVERY stated that she is a known communist and ~~does not have to hide and, in fact, she has run on a communist ticket for a public office.~~ She stated that she has worked with Negro and white CP members in New York, Pittsburgh, and all over the East, and she has come to Chicago to help the Negro CP members. She stated she recently arrived from Pittsburgh. She added that she has found out that CP members in Chicago are afraid to use the name communist and they must overcome this. She added she has organized CP groups in neighborhoods, politics, white collar workers, churches, and, in fact, in any field that you could name.

(CG T-3, 10/13/66)

On October 12, 1966, the CP of Illinois, South Central Freedom of the Press Committee, held a meeting at Chicago. Among those in attendance were:

ISHMAEL FLORY
LULA SAFFOLD
SI

FLORY stated that "Black Power" is dangerous because it means separation of the races and that this term implies a takeover of the whole country and an end to "White Power." The black people need the white Marxists to lead them and the Negroes will never get ahead in this country until they are taught the meaning of Marxism and the only way they are going to learn this is for their white comrades of the CP to teach them. He added that the marching and non-violence of MARTIN LUTHER KING will not work and CP leaders should be out in the streets busting heads and knocking some sense in all the Negroes' leaders' heads if they expect to change this country into a socialist state.

SAFFOLD mentioned that she is for "Black Power." She said that the press in this country has twisted the meaning of "Black Power" and that it has brought out all of the hatred that most white people have for Negroes and now the white people are trying to say that the Negroes have been the cause of this hatred but the Negro people realize that white people have been responsible for this hatred for many years.

(CG T-3, 10/20/66)

e. CP of Illinois Activities in the NALC

A CP meeting was held on November 22, 1966, at Chicago.

EARL DURHAM stated that CP members should take a more active part in the activities of the NALC inasmuch as the NALC can play a leading role in the civil rights movement in Chicago.

(CG T-4, 11/28/66)

f. Other Statements made by CP of Illinois Leaders

There is apparently bad feeling between CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and JAMES WEST, a member of the State Board, CP of Illinois.

WEST feels that LIGHTFOOT misinterprets the Negro civil rights struggle because he overemphasizes economic goals, jobs and living standards. WEST is of the opinion that substantial economic gains have been made and that now the emphasis should be on ideological discussions with Negroes on the part of the CP and the selective recruitment of Negroes for the CP.

(CG T-2, 10/5/66)

A meeting was held on October 5, 1966, at Chicago of the CP collective that has been established to organize hospital workers in Chicago. Among those in attendance were:

EUGENE TOURNOUR
HERBERT WRIGHT
JAMES WEST
FRANK CROWLEY.

WEST discussed the recent drive on in Chicago to organize hospital workers who are presently unorganized. He stated CP should participate in this drive and added that the IUD of the AFL-CIO, with its 60-odd affiliated locals in Chicago, should also have a committee to support the drive. He added that they should also have a group of prominent citizens including representatives from the Conference on Race and Religion to openly support the drive and by all means they should have the overall support of MARTIN LUTHER KING. He suggested that a letter should be sent to churches to contact hospital workers who would be interested in organizing unorganized workers and that this letter should be signed by MARTIN LUTHER KING.

CG 100-41324

He also stated that the CCCO and the NALC should attempt to recruit at least 500 volunteers in connection with the hospital drive in order that eventually these volunteers could be the nucleus for organizing a labor union. He stated that the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Union has been made responsible for organizing the hospital workers.

(CG T-2, 10/12/66)

A meeting of members of the CP of Illinois was held on October 12, 1966, in Chicago and among those present were the following:

EARL DURHAM
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
JAMES WEST
EUGENE TOURNOUR
HERBERT WRIGHT

HERBERT WRIGHT stated that factions have developed in the CCCO and are detrimental to the Unity of the Freedom Movement in Chicago. TIMUEL BLACK is responsible for one of the factional disputes of the CCCO and WRIGHT indicated that steps were being taken within the NALC to stop this destructive activity by BLACK. He added that the program of the Freedom Movement in Chicago has not been coordinated in a number of months and, therefore, the members of the CCCO many times were never consulted concerning activities by the CCCO. As a result, this caused a great deal of dissension and steps should be taken to have better organizing.

LIGHTFOOT stated that the CP should give their full support to help unify the Freedom Movement in Chicago and mentioned that more CP members should take an active interest in the Chicago Freedom Movement.

(CG T-1, 10/14/66)

2. Plans, Strategy, Party Line and the Like
Made at CP, USA, National Meetings by
CP of Illinois Leaders

a. Meeting of National Committee, CP, USA

A meeting of the National Committee of the CP, USA, was held at New York, New York, from December 3-7, 1966. GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CP, USA, spoke and stated that in civil rights the main struggle in the future will be with economic issues. He also called for political action to start now in city elections and stated that candidates should be supported by the CP and that candidates who are interested in neighborhood issues should also be supported by the CP. In the coming months there will be many cutbacks in industry and these cutbacks will hurt the Negroes most. The white people in the CP and in the labor movement must join with the Negroes in order to continue the struggle for housing, jobs, and Negro-white unity as well as for the fight for freedom and peace.

HERBERT WRIGHT mentioned the recent elections in Chicago and stated that the reasons for the failure of the Daley machine in Chicago were that the Democrats in Chicago did not slate a Negro for a top office, that the Daley machine had made an attempt to slander MARTIN LUTHER KING, and that there was a growing feeling among the Negro masses that the war in Viet Nam is a racist war.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT also spoke and mentioned that at the 18th National CP convention he had the responsibility of preparing a resolution on the Negro question. He mentioned that in regard to a book which he is now writing on the Negro question, he utilized 50 books and over 100 pamphlets for research purposes and found out that the problems for the Negro people in this country are increasing and that fascist dangers are also on the increase. We are on the eve of a great upheaval in this country since there have been 21 "explosions" in Negro communities and there are going to be many more in the white community due to the high cost of living, high taxes, the sending of our sons to Viet Nam and other problems affecting the masses of American people.

(CG T-2, 12/9/66)

b. Meeting of National CP Negro Commission

A meeting of the National CP Negro Commission was held on December 8, 1966, at New York, New York.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT spoke and stated that the problem regarding the 20 million Negro people in this country is how can we increase the income of these people and how can this money be kept in the ghetto? "BLACK Power" advocates say that Negroes must control the businesses in the ghetto if they are to better their economic conditions. LIGHTFOOT stated that the next stage in the Freedom Movement should be a fight for complete economic rights for the Negroes.

HERBERT WRIGHT mentioned that there is a program underway in Chicago to raise the economic status of the Negro. This program is being undertaken by the NALC and the IUD of the AFL-CIO in organizing the unorganized, working with small shops to help solve their grievances and to have CP participate with the NALC and the IUD to organize 80 hospitals in the Chicago area. In connection with the hospital drive contacts have been made in 63 of these hospitals and some wages have already been increased for the workers. The CP feels that by doing this we are solving some of the problems of the low-paid ghetto dweller. The CP, of course, should be concerned with developing new approaches and winning new friends in the ghetto areas.

WRIGHT stated that another major problem facing the Negroes in all large cities is police brutality and ignorance of the legal rights of everyone. Poverty is an iron circle which feeds upon itself and poverty is the cause of many additional problems such as high crime rates. He added that many laws are discriminatory because if a man is wealthy he has a much better chance of being declared innocent of any charge and communists should be the first to realize that the law many times is unequal. Millions of Negroes are caught in this unfairness of our laws because they are the ones that are mainly affected by fines and garnishments of wages.

(CG T-2, 12/9/66)

c. Meeting of Youth Encampment Sponsored by CP

Youth Encampment sponsored by the CP was held from August 29, 1966 through September 11, 1966, at Camp Webatuck located near Wingdale, New York.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT lectured a class for several days on the topic of "Negro Freedom." For the most part LIGHTFOOT's lecture was based on the slogan "Black Power." LIGHTFOOT stated that he is a firm believer in the basic idea of "Black Power" as he feels that today in the United States there is a definite need for black unity regardless of what shape or form that it takes. The Negro people will be able to raise themselves above their "ghetto strata" in life, if they achieve this black unity. Cooperation with white workers will be necessary to a limited degree in order to achieve the objective of economic power. Once economic power is achieved, capitalism will be finished. With respect to the term "Black Power" LIGHTFOOT stated that the Negro people will gain dignity and respect which are their basic rights if they will only rally around the term "Black Power." He added that only by true power, which he described as either being political, economic, or military, can the Negro achieve changes that will substantially reduce "Jim Crowism" in America..

(CG T-5, 10/5/66)

Corroborating Source: (CG T-6, 10/5/66)

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

No information developed.

**III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND
INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND
OTHER ORGANIZATIONS**

A. Chicago Urban League (CUL)

The CP at the present time exercises no influence within the CUL.

(CG T-1, 1/17/67)

Corroborating Source: (CG T-2, 1/10/67)

B. Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

Source related that in July, 1966, EUGENE TOURNOUR claimed that he was either appointed or elected to the position of Regional Coordinator of Midwest CORE, during the CORE National convention in Baltimore, Maryland, in early July, 1966. In November, 1966, TOURNOUR was a current CP member and was still holding the position of Regional Coordinator of National CORE.

(CG T-7, 11/16/66)

EUGENE TOURNOUR as a CP member has also been assigned to work within CORE and he is a member of CORE; however, he exercises very little, if any, influence in CORE.

(CG T-1, 1/17/67)

Corroborating Source (CG T-2, 1/10/67)

C. Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCCO)

On October 5, 1966, CCCC delegates meeting was held at Chicago. Approximately 40 persons attended this meeting and the following CP members were in attendance:

EUGENE TOURNOUR
RALPH TURNER
HERBERT WRIGHT

Rev. ANDREW YOUNG, who is an aide to MARTIN LUTHER KING, was the chairman of the meeting. ALBERT RABY was expected to be present but was absent apparently because he is disgusted with the confusion which exists among leaders of the civil rights movement in Chicago. One group of civil rights people wants a more militant approach and the other group is being accused of allowing the white element to make the policies concerning the direction of the civil rights movement.

TIMUEL BLACK of the NALC reportedly feels that ALBERT RABY and EDWIN BERRY of CUL are being influenced too much by the white liberals in the CCCO.

(CG T-2, 10/12/66)

EUGENE TOURNOUR, a CP member, is a salaried staff member of the CCCO and is one of ALBERT RABY's right-hand men. HERBERT WRIGHT a CP member also attends activities of the CCCO as an alternate representative from the NALC; however, in the opinion of sources TOURNOUR and WRIGHT exert very little, if any, influence in the CCCO.

(CG T-1, 1/17/67)

Corroborating Source

(CG T-2, 1/10/67)

D. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

LESTER DAVIS and BRENETTA HOWELL, both of whom are CP members, have been assigned by the CP to work within the NAACP. However, neither DAVIS nor HOWELL exercise any influence in the NAACP and HOWELL recently has ceased attending meetings of the CP.

(CG T-1, 1/17/67)

Corroborating Sources

(CG T-2, 1/10/67)
(CG T-8, 1/13/67)

CG 100-41324

E. Negro American Labor Council (NALC)

del. *del.* *SI*
HERB WRIGHT, NATE SHARPE, CHARLIE WILSON, and RALPH TURNER, all of whom are CP members, have been assigned by the CP of Illinois to work within the NALC. Their main objective at the present time is to involve the NALC in a program of organizing unorganized workers, with particular emphasis on organizing the hospital workers in the Chicago area with the assistance of the Industrial Union Department (IUD) of the AFL-CIO and the Teamsters Union. However, the above individuals have had very little success in exercising any influence in the NALC on behalf of the CP.

(CG T-1, 1/17/67)

Corroborating Source

(CG T-2, 1/10/67)

F. Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

The CP of Illinois at the present time exercises no influence within the SCLC.

(CG T-1, 1/17/67)

Corroborating Source

(CG T-2, 1/10/67)

G. Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

The CP of Illinois at the present time exercises little influence within SNCC.

ISHMAEL FLORY a member of the CP of Illinois and the founder of the African-American Heritage Association (AAHA), has established a relationship with MONROE SHARPE, the Chairman of the SNCC in Chicago. Some discussions are taking place between AAHA members and SNCC members.

(CG T-1, 1/17/67)

CG 100-41324

H. West Side Organization (WSO)

The CP at the present time exercises no influence within the WSO.

(CG T-1, 1/17/67)

Corroborating Source

(CG T-2, 1/10/67)

1/10/67

IV. -MISCELLANEOUS

A. Leadership Council for Metropolitan Chicago Open Housing
Communities, also known as Metropolitan Chicago Leadership
Council for Open Housing

An article appeared in the November 30, 1966, issue of the "Chicago Sun-Times," a Chicago daily newspaper which contained the following information:

See
A former Chicago housing specialist was named executive director Tuesday of the council set up to enforce this summer's open housing agreement in Chicago, Illinois. He is EDWARD L. HOLMGREN, a native Chicagoan and now executive director of the Baltimore Neighborhoods, Incorporated, a private non-profit agency specializing in stabilizing racially mixed neighborhoods.

HOLMGREN attended the University of Illinois and the University of Chicago where he majored in political science. From 1949 until 1959 HOLMGREN was in charge of tenant selection for the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA). After leaving the CHA HOLMGREN worked for some three years as a housing specialist for the Chicago Urban League.

See
This article continued stating that ALBERT A. RABY, Convener of the Co-ordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCCO) hailed HOLMGREN's appointment. The article pointed out that RABY and Doctor MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. were co-chairmen of the Chicago Freedom Movement (CFM) and they led the summer open housing marches which led to the agreement in Chicago on August 27, 1966, regarding open housing.

Related Copy Sent *Holmgren*
by Letter *3/3/76, jms*
Per FOIA Request

CG 100-41324

An article appearing in the November 30, 1966, issue of another Chicago daily newspaper, "The Chicago Daily News," stated that HOLMGREN would be chairman of the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Chicago Open Housing Communities which is a group formed following the August 26, 1966, agreement on open housing in Chicago, Illinois. This group is also known as the Metropolitan Chicago Leadership Council for Open Housing.

b6
b7C

This source advised on April 26, 1946, that EDWARD LEE HOLMGREN, [redacted] Chicago, Illinois, a student, had applied for membership in the CP, USA, in 1946.

(CG T-9, 4/26/46)

This source advised that EDWARD LEE HOLMGREN was a member of the Hyde Park Club of the CP in 1946 and was active in attending meetings.

(CG T-10, 5/9/55)

This source advised that EDWARD HOLMGREN was a member of the NATE SCHILLING CP Club in 1946 and 1947.

(CG T-11, 1/30/56)

**AFRICAN AMERICAN HERITAGE ASSOCIATION,
Formerly known as Afro-American
Heritage Association**

A source advised on May 11, 1966, that the African American Heritage Association (AAHA) with headquarters at 306 East 43rd Street, Chicago, Illinois, was known as the Afro-American Heritage Association until February, 1961. It was founded by ISHMAEL FLORY around 1958 and incorporated in the State of Illinois as a non-profit organization. It was founded ostensibly for the purpose of teaching African history and culture to American Negroes. AAHA is strongly influenced by the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois. It is represented by both communist and non-communist members, and some people with strong Negro nationalistic tendencies. This organization reflects CP policy on some issues and opposes CP policy on others; for example, the CP rejects the concept of Afro-American as a reference term to the American Negro and rejects aspects of nationalism, both of which are reflected in the AAHA program. FLORY is a member of the CP of Illinois and theoretically under the discipline of the CP. He is the guiding force in AAHA and controls policy and decisions in AAHA.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Chairman, CP of Illinois, is a friend of ISHMAEL FLORY. LIGHTFOOT and other CP representatives occasionally are featured at AAHA affairs.

A second source advised on May 11, 1966, that in 1962 the CP worked with FLORY to organize AAHA Chapters under the leadership of CP members. The aim of this program included the reactivation of ex-CP members and recruitment of new CP members. This program was never successful and became defunct in 1963.

Since 1963, the South Side area of the CP of Illinois has been regularly holding CP meetings at AAHA headquarters. Many South Side CP members currently are members of AAHA and participate in AAHA affairs. The South Side CP groups cooperate in some AAHA affairs, especially in affairs dealing with the Negro rights movement.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Chicago, Illinois
January 31, 1967

CG 100-41324

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS, CHICAGO DIVISION

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Reference is made to report of
Special Agent Leland C. Richie
dated and captioned above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

CG T-10 is an agency which collects security information in the Chicago area.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEWARK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 2/1/67	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 11/21/66 - 1/30/67
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY OLIVER A. CHALIFOUX	TYPED BY lgc
<i>CIRM</i>		CHARACTER OF CASE IS-C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA OLIVER A. CHALIFOUX at Newark, dated 10/21/66.

-P*-

INFORMANTSIdentity of Source

NK T-1

NK T-2

File Where Located

b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE

Newark informants who had no information re CIRM in December, 1966, and January, 1967, were:

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE:	9 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM) 2 - INTC, Newark (RM) 1 - NIS, New York (RM) 1 - NIS, Philadelphia (RM) 1 - OSI, New York (RM) 1 - New York (100-153735) (RM) 3 - Newark (100-48052)	100-442529-2104	REC-34
		15 FEB 3 1967	
<u>Dissemination Record of Attached Report</u> Agency: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER. Request: ASD, CRD, RAO Date Fwd: 2/10/67 How Fwd: [Signature] By: [Signature]		Notations <i>[Signature]</i> SEC.	

1CC rpt 924 94D

NK 100-48052

b7D

 contacted 12/30/66 by SA JAMES A. MARLEY, JR.
contacted 12/30/66 by SA JAMES A. MARLEY, JR.
contacted 12/30/66 by SA JAMES A. MARLEY, JR.
contacted 12/30/66 by SA JAMES A. MARLEY, JR.
contacted 1/23/67 by SA OLIVER A. CHALIFOUX.
contacted 1/6/67 by SA JOHN J. KENNELLY.

NEWARK

AT NEWARK, NEW JERSEY. Will follow communist
influence in racial matters.

This report is classified ~~confidential~~ because
data reported by NK T-1 and NK T-2 could result in identifi-
cation of confidential informants of continuing value and
compromise their future effectiveness.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

2 - INTC, Newark (RM)
1 - NIS, New York (RM)
1 - NIS, Philadelphia (RM)
1 - OSI, New York (RM)

Copy to:

Report of: OLIVER A. CHALIFOUX Office: Newark, New Jersey
Date: February 1, 1967
Field Office File #: 100-48052 Bureau File #: 100-442529
Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: ✓ Communist Strategy: SWP member, at meeting of Newark Branch, SWP, 12/30/66, stated a brand new trend shaping up in U.S., taking form of third political party, and CP successful in bringing together some civil rights groups and peace groups to get radical candidates on ballots. ✓ Communist Tactics: No information developed. ✓ Communist Penetration and Influence In Racial and Other Organizations: ✓ J. HUNTER O'DELL of Freedomway Associates, Inc., speaking before meeting of FNF, Newark, N.J., 11/18/66, acknowledged a "white backlash" against Negro which is nothing but racism, and said black community power must be brought to bear in order for Negro to progress. ✓ O'DELL described as "Actively involved in the Civil Rights Movement for more than 15 years".

-P*-

DETAILS:

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

At a regular membership meeting of the Newark Branch of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP), held December 30, 1966, at the home of SWP member JOE CARROLL, who resides in

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~GROUP I~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

NK 100-48052

IRVINGTON, New Jersey, CARROLL spoke about a brand new trend SHAPING up in the United States which is taking the form of A THIRD political party. CARROLL said the COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) IS BECOMING successful in bringing together some civil rights AND peace groups in order to get radical candidates on BALLOTS.

NK T-1
1/10/67

The SWP has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

✓ A characterization of the Newark Branch of the SWP is attached.

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

No information developed.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

J. HUNTER O'DELL spoke before a meeting of the FRIDAY NIGHT FORUM (FNF), held in Newark, New Jersey, on November 18, 1966. The subject of O'DELL's speech was, "White Backlash and Black Power: A Clarification". In his speech O'DELL acknowledged there was a "white backlash" against the Negro in the United States and he said this backlash was a resurgence of a long, established anti-Negro feeling, which had at no time changed; statements to the contrary notwithstanding. O'DELL referred to the results of recent national elections as evidence that the Negro had lost everything he thought he had gained. O'DELL said black community power must be brought to bear in order for the Negro to progress. He said the "white backlash" is nothing but racism. During the question and answer period following his speech, O'DELL said he was active with civil rights organizations. A throwaway circulated by the FNF announcing O'DELL's speech described O'DELL as "Actively involved in the Civil Rights Movement for more than 15 years", and "For past 3 years Associate Editor of Freedomways Magazine, the Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement".

NK T-2
11/21/66

NK 100-48052

✓ A characterization of the FNF and Freedomways Associates, Inc. (which includes a characterization of O'DELL) is contained in the appendix attached.

Other Newark informants familiar with some phases of CP activity in New Jersey advised in December, 1966, and January, 1967, that they had no information concerning communist influence in racial matters.

APPENDIX1AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES
Also Known As AIMS

A source advised on April 9, 1963, that on April 7, 1963, at a meeting of the District Committee of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) of New England, held in Boston, Massachusetts, HERBERT APTHEKER stated he was developing an organization called American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS), which would eventually legalize the CP. He stated AIMS would publish literature on History, Science, Physics, Archeology and other subjects which would be put out quarterly with various supplements.

A second source advised on June 30, 1966, that HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee, CP, USA, at the 18th National Convention of the CP, USA, held June 22-26, 1966, in New York City.

A third source advised on June 7, 1963, that on June 3, 1963, HERBERT APTHEKER spoke at the CP, USA, New York District Board meeting concerning AIMS. APTHEKER stated that AIMS would unite and strengthen the CP although the CP would not be connected with it. He stated AIMS was being formed to operate within the scope of the Mc Carran and Smith Acts and would legally bring Marxist material and opinions to the attention of American scholars and the general public.

A fourth source reported on August 29, 1966, that AIMS was located on the fifth floor west of 20 East 30th Street, New York, New York, and issues a "Newsletter" every other month. This source made available the information that AIMS issues publications and holds symposiums concerning Marxism.

APPENDIX

NK 100-48052

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INC. CONT'D

This source advised in July, 1962, that as of that period, O'Dell was considered by the CPUSA, as being a member of its National Committee.

On January 30, 1961, Sylvia M. Brenner Devine, 415 South 50th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, advised that her former husband, Jack Devine, mentioned on December 17, 1960, that he was still in the CP and that the CP is his whole life.

On July 24, 1963, a fifth source described John Devine as a CP member.

✓ A characterization of AIMS is attached.

1APPENDIXFRIDAY NIGHT FORUM
(NEWARK, NEW JERSEY)

A source advised in November, 1960, that a forum for "lefts and progressives" was mentioned as coming into existence at a meeting of New Jersey COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) leaders held in Newark, New Jersey, at the end of October, 1960. David Becklin, known to the source as a CP member, and other active CP members were mentioned as being associated with the effort to establish such a public sounding board.

A second source advised in December, 1960, that a letter had been prepared announcing the organization of the FRIDAY NIGHT FORUM (FNF) and advertising the first meeting as being scheduled for January 20, 1961. According to the letter, the FNF was to present a series of lectures, one each month, at the Continental Ballroom in Newark, New Jersey. These lectures were to be on the "political events of these times" and were to feature qualified speakers on such topics as the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA), Cuba, Africa, Asia, civil rights, co-existence, and national and international events.

A third source advised on May 26, 1966, since its inception, the FNF has continued to present a series of speakers on such topics as international relations, abolition of the HCUA, Africa, Asia, and Vietnam, education and social reforms in the Soviet Union, disarmament, Soviet youth activities, and other topics of current interest.

The third source advised on May 26, 1966, that FNF meetings are currently being held at the Continental Ballroom, Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey, and that Lottie Gordon was the 1965-1966 chairman, and Leo Ritz furnished Gordon, "Behind the scenes assistance".

A fourth source advised on March 9, 1965, that Lottie Gordon was reinstated as a member of the CP in January, 1965.

During November, 1965, a self-admitted member of the CP from the mid-1930's until late 1944, advised that during the period from just prior to World War II, until late 1944, he knew Leo Ritz to be a member of the Clinton Hill Branch of the New Jersey CP.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
NEWARK BRANCH**

A source advised on October 14, 1960, that the Newark Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was founded in 1938.

Another source advised on May 11, 1966, that the Newark Branch of the SWP is affiliated with and follows the aims and purposes of the National SWP.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

Newark, New Jersey
February 1, 1967

TITLE	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
CHARACTER	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
REFERENCE	Report of Special Agent Oliver A. Chalifoux, dated and captioned as above at Newark, New Jersey.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 2/1/67

FROM: SAC, RICHMOND (100-10310) -P*-

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

(OO - New York)

Re Richmond letter to Bureau dated 11/1/66.

Communist Party activity in Virginia continues at a very low ebb. No information under this category has been obtained during this quarter period by the Richmond Office.

2 - Bureau (Registered Mail)
1 - New York (100-153735) (Registered Mail)
1 - Richmond
RET:mfh
(4)

REC-63

100-442529-2105

FEB 6 1967



F393

FEB 9 1967

INT. SEC.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 1/31/67

FROM : SAC, SPRINGFIELD (100-10317) P*

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

Remylet 10/28/66.

Contacts with informants and sources in the Springfield Division have failed to develop any information pertinent to captioned matter.

2 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
1 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
1 - Springfield (100-10317)
THE:sjs
(4)

EX-112

100-442529-2106

12 FEB 3 1967

REC-61

INT. SEC.



5010-108-01

F 393

10

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-13148) (P*)

DATE: 2/1/67

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

OO: New York

Re Minneapolis letter to the Bureau 10/31/66.

The Minneapolis Office has contacted established sources and security informants knowledgeable in the racial matters field in this division and these sources have indicated there has been no change in the over-all situation in regard to communist influence in racial matters.

The Minneapolis Office has no pertinent information to report at this time in this matter.

REC-58 100-442529-2107

100-929940
2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (RM)
1 - Minneapolis
DEW:cae
(5)

15 FEB 6 1967



51 FEB 14 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Date 2/24/67.

To:

~~xxx~~ Director

FI

MI 100-14439

Att.: _____

☐ SAC _____

Title

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

☐ ASAC _____

☐ Supv. _____

☐ Agent _____

☐ SE _____

☐ IC _____

☐ CC _____

☐ Steno _____

☐ Clerk _____

Re: Routing slip from

ACTION DESIRED Bureau to
Milw. and
NY, 2/21/67.

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Open Case

☐ Assign _____ Reassign _____

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Bring file

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Call me

☐ Recharge serials

☐ Correct

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Deadline _____

☐ Return file

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Return serials

☐ Delinquent

☐ Search and return

☐ Discontinue

☐ See me

☐ Expedite

☐ Send Serials _____

☐ File

to _____

☐ For information

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ Handle

☐ Submit report by _____

☐ Initial & return

☐ Type

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

Enclosed are 9 copies of ammended page 3 along
with 9 copies of the characterization of YSA.

② - Bureau (100-442529)

1 - New York (100-153735)

1 - Milwaukee (100-14439)

RDJ/kdb

SAC PAUL H. FIELDS, JR.

(4)

See reverse side

Office Milwaukee

TO: SAC,

☐ Albany	☐ Houston	☒ New York City	☐ Tampa
☐ Albuquerque	☐ Indianapolis	☐ Norfolk	☐ Washington Field
☐ Anchorage	☐ Jackson	☐ Oklahoma City	☐ Quantico
☐ Atlanta	☐ Jacksonville	☐ Omaha	
☐ Baltimore	☐ Kansas City	☐ Philadelphia	TO LEGAT:
☐ Birmingham	☐ Knoxville	☐ Phoenix	☐ Bern
☐ Boston	☐ Las Vegas	☐ Pittsburgh	☐ Bonn
☐ Buffalo	☐ Little Rock	☐ Portland	☐ Buenos Aires
☐ Butte	☐ Los Angeles	☐ Richmond	☐ London
☐ Charlotte	☐ Louisville	☐ St. Louis	☐ Manila
☐ Chicago	☐ Memphis	☐ Salt Lake City	☐ Mexico, D.F.
☐ Cincinnati	☐ Miami	☐ San Antonio	☐ Ottawa
☐ Cleveland	☒ Milwaukee	☐ San Diego	☐ Paris
☐ Columbia	☐ Minneapolis	☐ San Francisco	☐ Rome
☐ Dallas	☐ Mobile	☐ San Juan	☐ Rio de Janeiro
☐ Denver	☐ Newark	☐ Savannah	☐ Santo Domingo
☐ Detroit	☐ New Haven	☐ Seattle	☐ Tokyo
☐ El Paso	☐ New Orleans	☐ Springfield	
☐ Honolulu			

Date 2/21/67

RE: **CIRM**
IS - C

☐ For information ☐ Retention optional ☐ For appropriate action ☐ Surep, by _____

☐ The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, ☐ conceal all sources, ☐ paraphrase contents.

☐ Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____

Remarks: **Rerep of SA RUSSELL D. JONES dated 2/1/67 at Milwaukee.**

Submit amended page 3 with the complete name of the Young Socialist Alliance in the 1st paragraph with the initials (YSA) following. Also in the 2nd paragraph, insert Milwaukee Branch of the SWP.

Failed to submit a characterization of the YSA. Submit copies of this characterization. Expedite--dissemination being held in abeyance.

Enc.

Bufile **100-442529**

Urfile **MI - 100-14439; NY - 100-153735 (Info.)**

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 2/1/67

FROM : SAC, KNOXVILLE (100-3520) (P*)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C
(OO: NEW YORK)

Re Knoxville letter to Bureau 12/16/66.

This is to advise since referenced letter no information has been received by the Knoxville Office from any sources reporting any Communist influence in racial matters.

Any information of a pertinent nature received in the future will be reported.

No quarterly report is being submitted.

- 2 Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (Info) (CIRM) (RM)
1 - Memphis (100-4070) (RM)
1 - Knoxville

TAS/cyp
(5)

REC- 58/100-442521, 2108

FEB 6 1967

51 FEB 14 1967



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE MILWAUKEE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 2/1/67	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/30-31/67
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY SA RUSSELL D. JONES	TYPED BY kdb
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

EX-112 *REC-51* *2/2*

REFERENCES: Report of SA EMIL E. HOPKINS at Milwaukee, dated 11/1/66.
-P*-

LEADS: MILWAUKEE DIVISION

At Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Will follow and report activities relating to Communist influence in racial matters and submit next report by 5/1/67.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report has been classified ~~confidential~~ because it contains information furnished by T-1 through T-6, the unauthorized disclosure of which would compromise informants and could be prejudicial to the national defense.

A
COVER PAGE

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☒ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☒ No

APPROVED COPIES MADE: 9 - Bureau (RM) (100-442539) 2 - INTC, Milwaukee (RM) (1 - G-2, Chicago) 2 - OSI, Milwaukee (RM) (1 - OSI, Chicago) 1 - NIS, Chicago (RM) 1 - NIS, Milwaukee (RM) 1 - New York (RM) (100-153735) 2 - Milwaukee (100-14439)	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW 100-442529-2109 REC-52 10 FEB 6 1967
Dissemination Record of Attached Report	
agency request Recd. ate Fwd. ow Fwd. R200 DEC 30 1970 61 MAR 23 1967	Notations INT/SEC

61 MAR 23 1967

MI 100-14439

INFORMANTS

Identity

Location

MI T-1 is [] PSI
Requested

[]

b7D

MI T-2 is []

Characterizations of
FRED BLAIR, JOHN
GILMAN, SIGMUND
EISENSCHER

MI T-3 is [] PSI
Requested

[]

b7D

MI T-4 is []

MI T-5 is []

Characterizations of
JAMES BOULTON and
MYRTLE KASTNER
Instant Report Page 3

MI T-6 is []

[]

b7D

All persons named in this report are on the Security Index with the exception of PAM KIRKLAND.

This name has not been previously furnished to the Bureau for indexing. Milwaukee has a main case file on PAM KIRKLAND which is presently in a closed status.

B*
COVER PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

Copy to: 2 - INTC, Milwaukee (RM)
 (1 - G-2, Chicago)
 2 - OSI, Milwaukee (RM)
 (1 - OSI, Chicago)
 1 - NIS, Chicago (RM)
 1 - NIS, Milwaukee (RM)

Report of: SA RUSSELL D. JONES
Date: 2/1/67

Office: Milwaukee

Field Office File No.: MI 100-14439

Bureau File No.: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

✓ FRED BLAIR's campaign for Governor, State of Wisconsin, included issues concerning full equality in ending discrimination.
✓ JOHN GILMAN, Member, CP, State Executive Committee attended meeting of Milwaukee United School Integration Committee (MUSIC) where discussion held on future of civil rights and segregation. ✓ SIGMUND EISENSCHER, Member, State Executive Committee, CP of Wisconsin, lectured on Negro freedom in US at a class on Marxism. ✓ PAM KIRKLAND, ✓ SA member, joined Youth Council of NAACP, which SWP organizer felt was important.
✓ Members of SWP hold membership in various civil rights groups, but seldom attend meetings of these groups.

-P*-

DETAILS:

~~GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

A. COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CP, USA)

A campaign throw-away of FRED BLAIR, CP candidate for Governor, reflected the following:

"Are you tired of promises from the two big parties about ending poverty and seeking full equality while things remain the same? Then vote for an end to discrimination in Housing and Hiring."

(Source: MI T-1, November 6, 1966)

FRED BLAIR is presently chairman CP of Wisconsin.

(Source: MI T-2, December 22, 1966)

At a class on Marxism held at Boulton Hall, UWM, on November 14, 1966, SIGMUND EISENSCHER, who conducted the class, lectured on Negro freedom in the United States. EISENSCHER stated that the Montgomery bus boycott initiated the movement that will result in greater Negro freedom. The success of the movement is due to new young militant leaders. EISENSCHER stated the big demand of the Negro is economy. He said since there are no Negro capitalists, the battle is directly between the Negro people themselves and the white capitalists. He said there is not a more patient people on earth than the American Negro, but the question is how long can the Negro have faith in America.

(Source: MI T-3, November 16, 1966)

SIGMUND EISENSCHER is a member of the State Executive Committee, Communist Party of Wisconsin.

(Source: MI T-2, December 22, 1966.)

B. SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)

A Meeting of the SWP was held October 9, 1966, at SWP headquarters, 150 East Juneau Avenue. During the meeting, a

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

report on civil rights was given by MYRTLE KASTNER, who said that PAM KIRKLAND, Young Socialist Alliance member (YSA), had joined the Youth Council of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). JAMES BOULTON commented that this was important that PAM had become a member of the Youth Council.

(Source: MI T-4, October 23, 1966)

A characterization of the Milwaukee Branch of the SWP and YSA is contained in the appendix thereto.

As of December, 1966, JAMES BOULTON was organizer and MYRTLE KASTNER recording secretary of the Milwaukee branch of the SWP.

(Source MI T-5, December 5, 1966)

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

No information developed.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

JOHN GILMAN attended a re-organization meeting of the Milwaukee United School Integration Committee held at St. Matthews Church, 2944 North 9th Street, on November 12, 1966. According to the informant, the discussion centered on the future of civil rights and segregation.

(Source: MI T-6, November 29, 1966)

JOHN GILMAN is a member of the State Executive Committee, Communist Party of Wisconsin.

(Source: MI T-2, December 22, 1966)

Two members of the SWP also attended the above-mentioned meeting of MUSIC held November 12, 1966.

(Source: MI T-6, November 29, 1966)

As of January, 1967, the following members of the SWP, Milwaukee branch, were members of the civil rights organizations indicated below:

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE):
MYRTLE KASTNER

Negro-American Labor Council (NALC):
MYRTLE KASTNER
WAYNE LEVERENZ
JAMES BOULTON

Milwaukee United School Integration
Committee (MUSIC):
ALBERT STERGAR
BETSY STERGAR
MYRTLE KASTNER

National Association for the Advancement of Colored
People (NAACP):
Most members of the Milwaukee Branch, SWP
are members of this organization.

Wise
~~PAM KIRKLAND~~ NA member, joined the Youth Council of the
NAACP in October, 1966.

Young Socialist Alliance

Even though SWP members hold membership in the above
organizations, they seldom attend meetings of these organizations.

(Source: MI T-5, January 30, 1967)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MI 100-14439

MILWAUKEE BRANCH OF THE
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

During May, 1966, a source advised that the Milwaukee branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was founded in 1940 and is affiliated with and follows the aims and purposes of the national SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

5

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960 issue of the "Young Socialist," (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the founding declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

A source advised on May 23, 1966 that the original YSA was an organization formed during October, 1957 in New York City by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

The source further advised on May 23, 1966 that the YSA is dominated and controlled on a national basis by the SWP through having SWP members comprise exclusively the National Executive Committee (NEC). The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section for the SWP and the main source of new SWP members.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
February 2, 1967

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA RUSSELL D. JONES dated and captioned as above at Milwaukee, Wisconsin

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WISC
report on civil rights was given by MYRTLE KASTNER, who said that PAM KIRKLAND, ~~ISA~~ member, had joined the Youth Council of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). JAMES BOULTON commented that this was important that PAM had become a member of the Youth Council.

(Source: MI T-4, October 23, 1966)

and YSA
A characterization of the SWP/1s contained in the appendix thereto.

Milwaukee Branch
As of December, 1966, JAMES BOULTON was organizer and MYRTLE KASTNER recording secretary of the Milwaukee branch of the SWP.

(Source MI T-5, December 5, 1966)

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

No information developed.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

JOHN GILMAN attended a re-organization meeting of the Milwaukee United School Integration Committee held at St. Matthews Church, 2944 North 9th Street, on November 12, 1966. According to the informant, the discussion centered on the future of civil rights and segregation.

(Source: MI T-6, November 29, 1966)

JOHN GILMAN is a member of the State Executive Committee, Communist Party of Wisconsin.

(Source: MI T-2, December 22, 1966)

Two members of the SWP also attended the above-mentioned meeting of MUSIC held November 12, 1966.

(Source: MI T-6, November 29, 1966)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529) DATE: 2/2/67

FROM : SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13295) (P*)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

Regarding San Diego letter 11/3/66.

No pertinent information developed since reletter.

San Diego will continue to follow activities of CP and other subversive groups and submit quarter report or letter as indicated.

- cc 9245
- ② - Bureau (Registered Mail)
 - 2 - New York (100-153735) (Registered Mail)
 - 1 - Los Angeles (Info.) (Registered Mail)
 - 1 - San Francisco (Info.) (Registered Mail)
 - 2 - San Diego

DNG:cjc
(8)

REC 36

100-442529 2110

FEB 8 1967

INT. SEC.

51 FEB 14 1967

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE WASHINGTON FIELD	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 2/1/67	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 11/1/66 - 1/31/67
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY C. EDWIN GLASS, JR.	TYPED BY rld
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA C. EDWIN GLASS, JR., dated 11/1/66
at WDC.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

0-17 to WFO
Copy to BA; NY; RH
Date 2/21/67
By DMW/ci
Remarks mispelled word page 2.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Where Located

WF T-1 is
WF T-2 is
WF T-3 is
WF T-4 is

100-43710-290

b7D

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 2 - Bureau (100-422529) 1 - 116th INTC Group, Washington, D. C. (by hand) 1 - OSI 4th District, BAFB, WDC (by hand) 1 - NISO, WDC (by hand) 1 - Baltimore (Info) (REGISTERED MAIL) 1 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL) 1 - Richmond (Info) (REGISTERED MAIL) 1 - Washington Field (100-43710)		100 - 442529	2/1/67
		1 FEB 7 1967	REC 37
Dissemination Record of Attached Report:		EX 101	
Agency	Request Recd.	Notations	
59 MAR 4 1967	DATE FWD.	INTSEC.	
HOW FWD.	BY:		

COPIES DESTROYED 1980-9-9-90

WFO 100-43710

This report is classified "~~Confidential~~" since information from all informants used could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

Copies of this report will be delivered personally by WFO personnel to local intelligence agencies.

LEADS

BALTIMORE AND RICHMOND (INFORMATION)

AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, AND RICHMOND, VIRGINIA. One copy of this report is being furnished to Baltimore and Richmond for information since those offices cover the CP district of which the CP of Maryland and the District of Columbia is a part.

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE

AT WASHINGTON, D. C. Will follow this matter and submit quarterly reports on pertinent information.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - 116th INTC Group, Washington,
D. C. (by hand)
1 - OSI 4th District, BAFB,
Washington, D. C. (by hand)
1 - NISO, Washington, D. C. (by hand)

Report of: SA C. EDWIN GLASS, JR. Office: Washington, D. C.
Date: 2/1/67

Field Office File #: 100-43710 Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

✓ BOB LEE, CP member from Baltimore, attended the AFL-CIO Teachers' Conference in late November or early December, 1966, as the representative of International Publishers. ✓ He collected 350 names to whom he planned to send material. ✓ CLARA MASSO, CP member, was to attend a national conference believed to be sponsored by the Federation of Negro Women's Clubs. ✓ National CP leadership was delighted with her plans and agreed to pay her expenses. ✓ CHARLES GIFT, CP member in frequent contact with SNCC and gave them some books.

- P* -

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

A. Communist Party

No information developed.

B. Other Communist Groups

No information developed.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

A. AFL-CIO Teachers' Conference, Washington, D. C.,
Late November or Early December, 1966

D.C.
BOB LEE, Communist Party (CP) member from Baltimore, Maryland, attended an AFL-CIO Teachers' Conference with reference to Negro History Week in late November or early December, 1966. The meeting was held in Washington, D. C., and many publishing firms were there. LEE represented International Publishers, and was accompanied by JOE HENDERSON, active in the New Era Book Shop in Baltimore, Maryland. LEE and HENDERSON collected about 350 names and addresses to which the International Publishers were to send literature and catalogues. LEE intended to use the names with near-by addresses as additions to the mailing list of the New Era Book Shop in Baltimore, Maryland.

WF T-1, December 31, 1966

✓ International Publishers are described in the appendix.

✓ The New Era Book Shop is described in the appendix.

BOB LEE, a CP member from Baltimore, Maryland, attended an unidentified Negro conference in Washington, D. C., in late November or early December, 1966. According to LEE, about 1,300-1,400 people attended the conference. LEE said that he sold CP literature at the conference. It was reported that GEORGE MEYERS, District CP Organizer, also attended the conference.

WF T-2, January 9, 1967

B. National Conference Believed to be Sponsored by
the Federation of Negro Women's Clubs,
November 9, 1966 - November 13, 1966,
Washington, D. C.

WFO 100-43710

CLARA ~~MASSO~~, East Side Section CP Organizer, New York District, CP, was to be in Washington, D. C., from November 9, 1966 to November 13, 1966, to attend a national conference, believed by the source to be sponsored by the Federation of Negro Women's Clubs. MASSO discussed the conference with HENRY WINSTON, who expressed delight in her plans to attend. MASSO claimed that there was so much enthusiasm over her plans to attend, that the National Office of the CP had agreed to pay her expenses to attend the conference.

WF T-3, November 1, 1966

DC
"The Worker", the East Coast Communist newspaper, June 20, 1966, said that HENRY ~~WINSTON~~ was elected National Chairman of the Communist Party, U. S. A., during its 18th national convention held in New York City June 22-26, 1966.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL
AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A. Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
(SNCC)

On September 26, 1966, CHARLES ~~GIFT~~, a CP member in Washington, D. C., said that he was in frequent contact with LESTER ~~MC KINNIE~~, one of the leaders of the SNCC Office in Washington, D. C. GIFT claimed he recently gave MC KINNIE a large box of books and that he now had another box of books to give him. GIFT was concerned over how to get the books to MC KINNIE.

WF T-4, September 26, 1966

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the International Publishers:

"1. 'The (Communist) Party's publishing house,' headed by Alexander Trachtenberg.

"(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p.7686.)

"2. An 'official publishing house of the Communist Party in the United States,' and a medium through which 'extensive Soviet propaganda is subsidized in the United States.'

"(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Reports, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, p.8, and House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p.18; also cited in House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p.76.)

"3. 'Official American Communist Party publishing house.'

"(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1920 on the Communist Party of the United States as an advocate of overthrow of Government by force and violence, May 11, 1948, p.80.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WFO 100-43710

NEW ERA BOOK SHOP, INCORPORATED

On September 19, 1962, a source advised that the New Era Book Shop, Incorporated, 101 West 22nd Street, Baltimore, Maryland, was organized by the Communist Party, Maryland - D. C. District, on July 30, 1962, with the sanction and financial backing of the Communist Party, USA. Its purpose is to sell communist literature and serve as a place where new Communist Party members might be recruited. The Book Shop is completely controlled and dominated by the Communist Party, USA.

On May 4, 1965, a second source advised that since June, 1963, the New Era Book Shop, Inc., has been located at 408 Park Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. It continues to be operated under the complete control and domination of the Communist Party, USA. ROBERT LEE, Communist Party member, is managing the Book Shop.

- 5* -
APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

February 1, 1967

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
 RACIAL MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Report of SA C. EDWIN GLASS, JR.,
 dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

To: Director

Date 3/2/67
Bureau 100-442529
Atlanta 100-6670

Att.: _____

☐ SAC _____

Title CIRM
IS - C

☐ ASAC _____

☐ Supv. _____

☐ Agent _____

Rerep SA ALAN G. SENTINELLA
2/10/67 at Atlanta.

☐ SE _____

☐ IC _____

☐ CC _____

☐ Steno _____

☐ Clerk _____

Re: O-17 dated 3/1/67.

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign _____ Reassign _____

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline _____

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☐ For information

☐ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Recharge serials

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Return serials

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Send Serials _____

to _____

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ Submit report by _____

☐ Type

The parenthetical statement below the first paragraph under caption "HUNTER PITTS O'DELL" on page 14 of rerep should read "(AT-5, 7-62)".

Bureau and New York requested to make above change to their copies of rerep. Atlanta copies changed.

1- Bureau (RM)

1- New York (RM)

See reverse side

AGS:bjh (2)

SAC FRANK V. HITT

Office ATLANTA

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE MEMPHIS	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 2/7/67	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 11/1/66-1/31/67
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS (CIRM)		REPORT MADE BY SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE	TYPED BY GMH
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE at Memphis, 11/1/66

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

T-1 is

ME T-2 is

Source of Information (Security)

File Where Located

b7D

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
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ME 100-4070

INFORMANTS (continued)

Identity of Source

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✓ T-3 is

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ME 100-4046-361

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ME 100-4046-361

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✓ T-5 is

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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✓ T-6 is

[REDACTED]

ME 100-3566-737

NY 100-4931-1A-844

✓ T-7 is

[REDACTED]

ME 100-3566-752

[REDACTED]

✓ T-8 is

[REDACTED]

ME 100-4368-38

Special Agent.

[REDACTED]

Nashville, Tennessee

b7D

✓ T-9 is

[REDACTED]

Source of Information

✓ T-10 is

[REDACTED]

Source of Information

✓ T-11 is

[REDACTED]

Source of Information

[REDACTED]

ME 100-4070

LEADS:

KNOXVILLE DIVISION (INFORMATION)

An information copy is furnished Knoxville since it covers a portion of the State of Tennessee.

MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS AND NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

Will continue to follow and report pertinent information in instant case.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

T symbols were used only where necessary to protect the identity of the sources and informants of continuing value to this Bureau and whose unauthorized disclosure could seriously hamper and jeopardize the effectiveness of this Bureau's investigations in the internal security field.

This report is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ inasmuch as it contains information from informants of continuing value whose unauthorized disclosure would jeopardize this Bureau's future internal security investigations.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

- 1 - G-2, Third Army Headquarters, Ft. McPherson, Georgia (RM)
- 1 - OSI, 8th District, Maxwell AFB, Alabama (RM)
- 1 - U. S. Naval Investigative Service Office, Charleston, S.C. (RM)
- 1 - 111th Intelligence Corps, Memphis, Tennessee (RM)
- 1 - Region 1, 111th Intelligence Corps, Nashville, Tennessee (RM)

Report of: SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE
Date: February 7, 1967

Office: MEMPHIS

Field Office File No.: ME 100-4070

Bureau File No.: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: Interlocking representatives of the Nashville Committee for Alternatives to the War in Vietnam, Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF), and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) have recently been active in Nashville, Tenn. Negro male, FRED HORACE BROOKS, Tennessee State A and I University student at Nashville has been active in SNCC, SCEF and SSOC-sponsored Nashville North Project. He worked with CP member DONALD LESLIE BONER whose wife CAROL STEVENS BONER is now Assistant Editor of the SCEF publication "Southern Patriot." BROOKS was taken to W. E. B. DuBois Clubs meetings by CP members DONALD BONER and JACKIE (LNU), white female of New York, New York, and JACKIE arranged for National CP theoretician HERBERT APTHEKER to provide BROOKS with source material. SSOC in cooperation with FRED BROOKS in December, 1966, raised money for Lowndes County, Alabama, Negroes.

- P -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

DETAILS:

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY:

No information developed.

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS:

No information developed.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND
OTHER ORGANIZATIONS:

A) North Nashville Project and Southern Student
Organizing Committee (SSOC)

On October 28, 1966, Memphis Confidential Informant T-1, who is familiar with activities of a group known as the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), P. O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, office address 1703 Portland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, advised that the SSOC is primarily a group of Southern white college students and recent college graduates formed about three years ago to serve as a counterpart in connection with the civil rights movement to the predominantly Negro group known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and that during recent months this group, according to its literature, has engaged in three prime fields of activity, namely, the civil rights movement, opposition to the United States policy in Vietnam, and poverty, particularly in urban areas.

IV) On July 6, 1965, in connection with another investigation Memphis Confidential Informant T-2 advised that on July 6, 1965, JUDY BARDUN, National Office Staff, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), National Office at Chicago, Illinois, in welcoming a new member into the SDS stated that the SSOC, Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, was a fraternal organization of the SDS, having similar concerns, et cetera, and that this new SDS member should plan to attend a Southwide SSOC conference at the end of the Summer of 1965.

PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE, self-admitted leader in the "new left" until his split with it in 1965 wrote concerning the SDS in his book: "The New Left," published 1966 by David McKay Company, Inc., New York, New York, beginning on page 139. Therein he described SDS as the last outpost of non-Communist youth in the new left--the student arm of the League for Industrial Democracy (LID); and further described it as being formed in 1960 and the early constitution of which had specific provisions denying Communists the right to be members of SDS. Despite this, LUCE said that most SDS workers lean toward Marxism and that SDS has become more radical and has espoused the united-front policy of joining the myriad of young Communist groups in demonstrations, particularly in the April 17, 1965, mass demonstration in Washington, D. C., opposing United States policy in Vietnam. LUCE added that in this SDS openly quoted the support of all young Communists, such as the May 2nd Movement, W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America, Young Against War and Fascism, and the Young Socialist Alliance. LUCE said that SDS at its 1965 national convention shelved its Communist exclusion clause in its constitution and threw open its membership to the young Communists. LUCE concluded that while SDS is not now a Communist organization, that its very brashness in refusing to listen to the echo of history is rapidly leading it into a position where its future will be directly tied to that of the young Communist organizations of the new left.

The August, 1966, issue of "The Southern Patriot," self described as the official publication of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF), on page four, carried a story entitled, "North Nashville Project Begins Community Work," in which it was stated that a children's summer program and tutorial sessions were the opening wedges being used to organize a small "medium poverty area" in the northwest section of Nashville, a type closer to the kind of anti-poverty organizing that is being carried on in northern cities. The article stated that its members "see it as a new beginning for the flagging Nashville civil rights movement, and as a way to help people in the neighborhood organize to make decisions that influence their

TENN. ALASKA

lives." The story listed ~~RONDA STILLEY~~ as one of four full-time workers in the North Nashville Project and listed FRED BROOKS, a Tennessee State University student, Nashville, as one who is coordinating the project "after working for the last few years with CORE in Louisiana and SNCC in Mississippi." The article further stated, "Nashville's problems are getting closer to those in northern cities where at the government level there is a theoretical acceptance of integration but on a practical level that's not the case at all, says ~~Dave Kotelchuck~~, TENN a Vanderbilt professor, who gives a weekly physics lesson to the older children." The article continued that the Project members are mainly University students and teachers who have been David Kotelchuck involved in local civil rights and peace work. The article continued, "Another important difference between the organizers and the community is that the community is almost all Negro while about half of the Project workers are white." The article continued, "With the recent emphasis on the importance of black communities being organized by Negroes, the question of whether to go into the area was debated hotly."

"We agreed that the Negro workers could be most effective in black communities," Miss Stilley said, "but we see the process as being one of stages: in some of the more basic stages, the black-white issue is less important than filling basic needs such as education."

"We're making it possible for Negroes in our group to do things that they wouldn't have been free to do otherwise."

(Characterizations of the May 2nd Movement (M2M), the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA), the Youth Against War and Fascism, and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), together with the SCEF, are set forth in the Appendix Section.)

With regard to the abovementioned FRED BROOKS, on September 22, 1966, Memphis Confidential Informants T-3 and T-4 advised that a "News and Letters Committee" convention, an affiliate of the Johnson-Forest Group, was held in Detroit, Michigan, September 3, 4, and 5, 1966, and that among those members listed as attending was FRED BROOKS who reported that he and a group of students were working on a project in North Nashville (Tennessee) to help Negroes who were destitute in housing and schooling, and with voter registration. (The Johnson-Forest Group, also known as Johnsonites, has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.)

During the period November 1, 1966, through January 31, 1967, Memphis Confidential Informant T-5 advised that there had been three primary interlocking groups in Nashville, Tennessee, having considerable common membership active in the desegregation movement in the racial field and also active in "opposition to United States policy in Vietnam," and that these three groups have to varying degrees cooperated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in its black power concept.

These three groups are the Nashville Committee for Alternatives to War in Vietnam (NCAWV), the Socialist Study Group, and the SSOC. Some of the common members, for example, are SSOC staff members ED HAMLETT, RONDA STILLEY, and SSOC supporters FRED SILVER, DONALD LESLIE BONER, BONER's wife CAROL STEVENS BONER, and DAVID KOTELCHUCK, Vanderbilt University professor.

TENN Donald LESLIE BONER Mrs. Donald LESLIE BONER
The masthead of the "Southern Patriot," official publication of the SCEF, published 3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Kentucky, in its January, 1967, issue listed the editor as ANNE BRADEN, Assistant Editor CAROL STEVENS BONER, and Executive Director CARL BRADEN.

With regard to CARL and ANNE BRADEN, Mrs. ALBERTA AHEARN, [redacted] Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the CP, Louisville, Kentucky, in testifying on December 11 and 13, 1954, in Jefferson County, Kentucky, Criminal Court, in a State Sedition prosecution against CARL JAMES BRADEN, identified this individual as well as his wife ANNE BRADEN as having been known to her as members of the CP in Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951, to shortly prior to the time of her testimony.

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B. APPROX. 1944

On August 12, 1966, Memphis Confidential Informant T-6 advised that as of June 27, 1966, DONALD LESLIE BONER, age 22, male white, resident of [redacted] Nashville, Tennessee, in connection with an official CP matter, indicated that he had been in the CP for four months and that he planned to attend a CP Youth Training School at the end of the Summer of 1966.

It is noted that on September 23, 1966, Memphis Confidential Informant T-7 advised that a CP, USA, Youth Conference was actually held at Camp Wehatauck, New York, on September 12, 13, and 14, 1966, and that among those in attendance was DONALD BONER of Nashville, Tennessee; that during the conference BONER made a report in which he said there were three whites working in Nashville; that they were about to recruit one Negro; and that main efforts were to organize rent strikes, to work with the SSOC, the SCEF, and to establish socialist discussion groups for students.

On November 16, 1966, T-5 advised that BONER and his wife Mrs. Donald Leslie Boner CAROL ANN BONER, nee Stevens, then resided at [redacted] Nashville, Tennessee.

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Mrs. JEAN KELLY, Secretary, Glencliff High School, Nashville, Tennessee, advised that during the period 1957-1964 DONALD BONER lived with his parents at [redacted] Nashville, Tennessee.

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On November 4, 1966, Mrs. J. T. GILL, Marriage License Bureau, Davidson County Court Clerk's Office, Nashville, Tennessee, advised that DONALD LESLIE BONER, age 22, and CAROL ANN STEVENS, age 22, then [redacted] as well as of 1703 Portland Avenue (address of SSOC in Nashville), Nashville, Tennessee, respectively, obtained Marriage License [redacted] on October 25, 1966, and were married on October 25, 1966, by Rev. RICHARD WADDELL, JR.

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On December 13, 1966, Memphis Confidential Informant T-8, a representative of another governmental agency which conducts background investigations advised that on December 12, 1966, FRED HORACE BROOKS, also known as Fred Brooks, qualified his Armed Forces Security Questionnaire DD Form 98 during a pre-induction physical by indicating that he has, regarding organizations, groups and movements, listed on that Questionnaire, that he has attended meetings, social gatherings and prepared material for publication, corresponded with, contributed money to, contributed services and subscribed to publications of various

organizations indicating that he was a member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Nashville Committee for Alternatives to the War in Vietnam (NGAWV), and had attended meetings of the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA). BROOKS was described by T-8 as a male Negro.

T-8 added that on December 13, 1966, BROOKS indicated that he had attended a meeting of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs (DCA) held in Washington, D. C., during the weekend of August 26-28, 1966, and that among those persons that attended the Washington meeting with him from Nashville were one DONALD BONER and a white female by the name of JACKIE (last name unknown), whose last name begins with the letters "WST", and that she had said that she was a student at a college in Queens, New York and was a sophomore at the time. He said she spent the summer of 1966 in Nashville and claimed to have been a member of the DCA, as well as the Communist Party (CP). BROOKS indicated that prior to going to Washington, D. C., he had attended sessions of the "Socialist Study Group" which were held every Tuesday night while the abovementioned JACKIE (LNU) was in Nashville and that these sessions were held at the residence of DAVE BENSON. He indicated that JACKIE (LNU) and DONALD BONER had asked him to join the DCA but to date he had not formally joined. He stated that JACKIE (LNU) had written to one Dr. APTHEKER (HERBERT APTHEKER), (renowned theoretician of the CP, USA) in his behalf in an effort to secure books concerning Negro history. Books were furnished by APTHEKER and BROOKS indicated that he utilized these books in teaching a summer project in Nashville, Tennessee.

BROOKS displayed to T-8 a small collection of books among which were noted the following which he claimed to have been furnished in the most part by APTHEKER:

"An Introduction to Marxism," by EMIL E. BURNS
published by the Little New World Paperbacks;

"Leader in Marxist Philosophy," by HOWARD SELSON
and HARRY MARTELL, published by the New World
Paperbacks;

"Imperialism--The Highest Stage of Capitalism,"
by V. I. LENIN, published by the Little Lenin
Library;

"New Program of the CP, USA, A Draft," published
by New Outlook Publishers and Distributors;

"For a Radical Change--The Communist View," by
GUS HALL, published by the New Outlook Publishers
and Distributors;

"Political Affairs of the 18th National Convention,
CP, USA," by GUS HALL, published by the New Outlook
Publishers and Distributors.

"The Foreign Agent; Truth and Fiction," by
OAKLEY JOHNSON, published by the GUS HALL-
BENJAMIN DAVIS Defense Committee.

"How the U. S. Got Involved in Vietnam,"
by ROBERT SCHEER.

"The American Civil War," by HERBERT APTHEKER,
published by the International Publishers Co.,
Inc.

"Negro Slave Revolts in the U. S., 1526-1860,"
by HERBERT APTHEKER, published by
International Publishers Co., Inc.

"Big Business and the American Universities,"
by BETTINA APTHEKER, published by the New
Outlook Publishers and Distributors;

"A Documentary History of the Negro People in
the U. S.," two volumes, by HERBERT APTHEKER,
published by the Citadel Press;

"WENDELL PHILLIPS," by JAMES J. GREEN, published by International Publishers Co., Inc.;

"Dare We Be Free," by HERBERT APTHEKER, published by New Century Publishers, Inc.;

"The Fire This Time," published by the DuBois Clubs of Los Angeles, by RON RIDENOUR;

"The Negro in the Civil War," by HERBERT APTHEKER, published by International Publishers Co., Inc.

"Toward Negro Freedom," by HERBERT APTHEKER, published by New Century Publishers, Inc.

"The Labor Movement in the South During Slavery," by HERBERT APTHEKER, published by International Publishers.

"Africa: The Way Ahead," by JACK WODDIS, published by New World Paperbacks;

"FREDERICK DOUGLASS," by PHILLIP S. FONER, published by International Publishers;

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN," by PHILLIP S. FONER, published by International Publishers;

"Reconstruction: The Battle for Democracy," by JAMES S. ALLEN, Published by New World Paperbacks.

BROOKS indicated that a project in which he taught was the North Nashville Project, a Project in which Negro children in the ghettos areas of Nashville were taught a variety of subjects, including history, mathematics, sciences, and crafts. BROOKS indicated that he taught Negro History and that Dr. DAVE KOTELCHUCK, a professor from Vanderbilt University, taught science, and also working with the staff were ADELAIDES BENSON, wife of Fisk University Professor DAVE BENSON; RONDA STILLEY from Alaska, who is working on the project for the SSOC; and an exchange student from Los Angeles, California who was studying at Fisk University, one LINDA VAUGHN; and another white girl by the name of LAURIE KILLOUGH who is from Florida and a graduate student at Scarritt College, Nashville.

Mrs. DAVE BENSON TENN.

TENN.

BROOKS indicated that the North Nashville Project is still in existence but it does not have any white people participating in the program now because Negro children were being bossed around by the white people.

BROOKS indicated that they made the white people withdraw from this project by informing them of the change, and for those that did not leave they "made it rough on them." BROOKS indicated that the project was financed by the people who were involved in the project who used their own money and were aided by the SSOC; by BAXTON BRYANT, Executive Director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations; and by the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Georgia.

BROOKS indicated that he was a leader in the Nashville chapters of the SNCC and was director of the field program and sergeant-at-arms.

BROOKS also indicated that he was a member of the NCAWV. BROOKS indicated that the aims and objectives of this Committee were to end the war in Vietnam by enlightening the people to the type of war which the United States is involved in which he considers to be a racist-type war.

Set forth below is a summary of background information relative to ~~BROOKS~~ as made available by T-8:

Fred
Name:
Race:
Sex:
Born:
Place of Birth:

FRED HORACE BROOKS *e1*

Negro
Male

6 feet

215 pounds

Brown

Black

Dark

Scar on middle finger, left hand

September, 1959, to June, 1960,

at Wilson County High School,

Lebanon, Tennessee;

September, 1962, to June, 1963,

Meigs High School,

Nashville, Tennessee;

September, 1963, to present,

Tennessee State University,

Nashville, Tennessee.

Relatives:

Father:

~~WILLIE D. BROOKS~~

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Mother:

~~Detroit, Michigan~~

~~DORIS LILES, Doris Brooks, Tenn~~

~~(same address)~~

~~Mrs. Willie D. Brooks~~

Brother:

~~JAMES BROOKS~~

~~(same address)~~

Brother:

~~WILLIAM BROOKS~~

~~(same address)~~

Sister:

~~JOANN LETER, nee Brooks~~

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Brother:

~~Chicago, Illinois~~

~~JOHN BROOKS~~

~~(same address as parents)~~

Brother:

~~JACKIE BROOKS~~

~~(same address as parents)~~

Employment:

Summer, 1963, to 1964,

Medical Arts Building,

Nashville, Tennessee

June, 1964, to January, 1965,

Congress of Racial Equality

(CORE), Supervisor ~~RONNIE MOORE~~

Summer of 1965, Ad Toe Mason,

Inc., Nashville, Tennessee.

BROOKS listed the following references as character references:

~~Mrs. SHELLY MYERS,~~
~~Nashville, Tennessee~~

~~GEORGE WARE,~~

~~Atlanta, Georgia~~

~~NATHAN TURNER,~~

~~Nashville, Tennessee~~

~~GEORGE LAWSON,~~

~~Nashville, Tennessee~~

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~~STOKELY CARMICHAEL~~

b6
b7C

Atlanta, Georgia

BROOKS listed his residences as follows:

April, 1946, to June,
1952

[redacted]
[redacted] Tennessee

June, 1952, to May, 1962

[redacted]
[redacted] Tennessee

June, 1962, to
September, 1962

[redacted]
Nashville, Tennessee

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September, 1962, to
June, 1963

[redacted]
Nashville, Tennessee

June, 1963, to May, 1964

[redacted]
Nashville, Tennessee

June, 1964, to
January, 1965

[redacted]
[redacted] Louisiana

January, 1965, to
April, 1965

[redacted]
Detroit, Michigan

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May, 1965, to April,
1966

[redacted]
Detroit, Michigan

April, 1966, to
Present

[redacted]
Nashville, Tennessee

BROOKS listed the following arrests:

Disturbing the Peace, Lebanon, Tennessee

Conspiring to Overthrow
Trade and Commerce, Nashville, Tennessee

Disturbing the Peace Jonesboro, Louisiana
and contributing to (case currently pending)
the delinquency of a
minor

BROOKS indicated that during the time of his arrest
in Louisiana he was working for CORE.

As recently as October 28, 1966, T-5 advised that during the early Fall of 1966 DONALD LESLIE BONER had worked actively with the SSOC and had worked particularly close with ED HAMLETT, a SSOC Field Worker, and that BONER had also worked in the North Nashville Project with SSOC but that SSOC had "kicked him out" when a portion of the North Nashville Project failed, and that one of the individuals in the North Nashville Project, FRED BROOKS, a male Negro, tried to spend more time with the white girls than he did with his work and was threatened with arrest for assault by one of the girls. This activity caused criticism of the Project and contributed to a portion of its failure.

On November 21, 1966, JOSEPH A. PAYNE, Dean of Students, Tennessee A and I University, Nashville, Tennessee, advised as follows:

During recent dates a very small group of students led by two Tennessee A and I University students, namely, ROBERT CHARLES BUTLER and FRED BROOKS, had been attempting to gain recognition for the SNCC from the Tennessee A and I Administration and the student body, and that twice during the previous week at school functions BUTLER seized the microphone from persons who were in charge of particular activities, launching a lengthy harangue on each occasion in an attempt to gain support for his group. Also Mr. PAYNE advised that a pamphlet or leaflet anonymously published, entitled, "Grass Roots," and believed to be distributed and published by this SNCC group, has been seen on the A and I Campus.

On November 22, 1966, BLANCHE COWAN, Dean of Women, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, advised that the Fisk Student Council had formally recognized SNCC as an organization on the campus at Fisk; and that SNCC sponsors from the Fisk Campus included SAMUEL VON WINBUSH, a member of the Chemistry Department, and JOHN O. WILLENS, a noted author who is a member of the English Department at Fisk; that this group has published a publication known as "Elan," apparently put out by SNCC people. "Elan" used as its editorial offices, 1804 Hermosa Street, Nashville 8, Tennessee.

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On December 14, 1966, Mr. CALVIN CRUTCHFIELD, Dean of Admissions, Tennessee A and I University, Nashville, Tennessee, advised that he had learned that a senior student, FREDERICK COLLINS, was having his tuition paid by the black power group, SNCC, directed by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, and that circumstantially other Tennessee A and I students were having their tuition paid by this group.

TENN
TENN
On January 24, 1967, Memphis Confidential Informants T-9, T-10, and T-11, who are familiar with certain activities in the Negro community of Nashville, Tennessee, advised that SNCC had recently changed its tactics from complete activism to a rather passive wait-and-see attitude and that the two most active SNCC workers on the Tennessee A and I Campus at the present were FRED BROOKS and OLISE DOUGLAS, supported by CARL CARTER, JERRY KEITH and ROBERT CHARLES BUTLER; and that one ERIC KORDHAV, formerly on the A and I student newspaper, "The Meter," staff, had recently dropped out of A and I to go to work for SNCC on a full-time basis in Atlanta, Georgia. These sources advised that FRED BROOKS has recently indicated that he is now opposed to the SSOC, making such statements that members of SSOC are stupid and silly and have only their own interests at heart and are not really concerned with helping the Negroes; that SSOC had, nevertheless, made available their printing equipment and furnished a newspaper for the preparation of the insurgent-type newsletter put out by SNCC on the A and I campus entitled, "Grass Roots." BROOKS indicated that he was continuing liaison with SSOC but it was apparent to informants that BROOKS was merely "using" SSOC for his own ulterior purposes.

MISS BOB DEWART
TENN
On December 14, 1966, T-1 advised that as of that date SSOC in communications over the signatures of staff workers, JANET DEWART, a Negro female, wife of BOB DEWART, editor of the "New South Student," SSOC publication, and FRED BROOKS, were seeking money and supplies to be sent to indigent Negroes in Lowndes County, Alabama, and that DEWART was described as a former SNCC worker in Lowndes County, Alabama, then working with SSOC and a group of SNCC members at Fisk University and at Tennessee State University, both Nashville. T-1 advised that SSOC was trying to raise money throughout the South and was then making efforts to raise money in Memphis, Tennessee.

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On December 18, 1966, SSOC had succeeded in raising \$20 in Memphis which was mailed to JANET DEWART.

On December 20, 1966, T-1 advised that FRED BROOKS was using the address [redacted] Nashville, Tennessee.

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Also on December 19, 1966, T-1 advised that Volume 3, No. 7, December, 1966, issue of the official SSOC publication, "New South Student," was exclusively devoted to "The Black Power Controversy," the guest editor of this issue being JANET DEWART, Negress, wife of BOB DEWART, white male, the normal editor of this publication. T-1 advised that this issue generally defends black power and defended STOKELY CARMICHAEL, national chairman of SNCC; that one of the contributing writers of this issue was FRED BROOKS, described as a senior, Tennessee State University, who had formerly worked with CORE in Jonesboro, Louisiana, in 1964-1965, and who was described as having been with the North Nashville Project since its inception a year ago. Other contributors included STOKELY CARMICHAEL and ANNE BRADEN, (supra).

In a foreword to this issue JANET DEWART said, "The black power controversy has stirred all segments of American life. Movement people have had to re-evaluate their roles as agents of social change. Anger over the slogan has clouded the fundamental issues behind it. It is in hopes of the sharpening our anger-fogged focus that we present the several articles related to the black power controversy. And as a black American, I make no apology for the decidedly pro-black tone."

IV. MISCELLANEOUS:

No information developed.

MAY 2 MOVEMENT

A source advised on March 3, 1965, as follows:

The May 2 Movement (M2M) formerly known as the May 2 Committee was organized on March 14, 1964, at New Haven, Connecticut, by a group of young people participating in a symposium "Socialism in America" being held at Yale University. The original aim of the M2M was to plan and execute a demonstration in New York City on May 2, 1964, demanding withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam.

The M2M was dominated and controlled by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and had for its aim and purpose the embarrassment of the United States Government by meetings, rallies, picketing demonstrations and formation of university level clubs at which a Marxist-Leninist oriented approach and analysis was taken of United States domestic and foreign policies. This source advised on May 19, 1965, that the headquarters of the M2M was 640 Broadway, New York City, Room 307.

A second source advised on February 9, 1966, that the M2M was officially dissolved as an organization on February 6, 1966, at a meeting held on the same date in New York City by the leadership of M2M and the Progressive Labor Party.

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

"The Southern Patriot," a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a Communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW dated April 26, 1946, changed the name of that organization to the SCEF and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals.

The SCEF is self-described as having deep roots in the South where it began as the educational wing of the SCHW, organized in 1938 to work for economic and political reform. When the SCHW disbanded in the late 1940's, SCEF continued as an independent organization, rallying support for integration and democracy and helping to stimulate and nurture new movements of the early 1960's. The SCEF maintained headquarters in Louisiana for twenty years, but in 1966 moved its headquarters to Louisville, Kentucky.

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a Communist Party functionary, stated at a meeting of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the Communist Party is not connected with any progressive movement but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on June 3, 1966, that during the time that the SCHW was in existence members of the Communist Party were members of

and worked actively in the SCEF; however, since the formation of the SCEF, Communist Party members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a Communist Party front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial issue.

CARL BRADEN and ANNE BRADEN, Director and Associate Director, respectively, of the SCEF, were identified by ALBERTA AHEARN, [redacted] Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party, on December 13, 1954, in her testimony in Jefferson County, Kentucky, Court in the prosecution of CARL BRADEN under a state sedition statute as members of the Communist Party in Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951, to December, 1954. b6 b7C

A third source advised on May 26, 1965, that GEORGE MEYERS, a Communist Party functionary, expressed great admiration for CARL and ANNE BRADEN and the SCEF, with which they are affiliated, and expressed the view that the SCEF is the best organization in the South as far as doing effective work is concerned and that they have a better idea of what they are doing, where they are heading, and influence other organizations for the better.

The second source also advised on June 3, 1966, that many people who are officials and supporters of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means Communists.

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to its constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on

ME 100-4070

2

APPENDIX

the NEC has varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist," (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the founding declaration of YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

A source advised on May 23, 1966, that the original YSA was an organization formed during October, 1957, in New York City, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

The source further advised on May 23, 1966, that the YSA is dominated and controlled on a national basis by the SWP through having SWP members comprise exclusively the National Executive Committee (NEC). The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section for the SWP and the main source of new SWP members.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ME 100-4070

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APPENDIX

YOUTH AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

A source advised on March 29, 1965, that the Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), formerly known also as the Anti-Fascist Youth Committee, was established by the Workers World Party (WWP) in the Summer of 1962, to bring college and high school youth into the periphery of WWP activities and, thereby, gain recruits for the organization.

A second source advised on October 23, 1964, that a flyer distributed by the YAWF describes that organization as a militant organization of young workers and worker-students for combating war and fascism.

The first source advised on March 9, 1966, that the YAWF maintains its headquarters at 58 West 25th Street, New York City, and publishes a magazine called "The Partisan."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

Memphis, Tennessee
February 7, 1967

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference: Report of SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE
at Memphis, Tennessee, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-442529) DATE: 2/9/67

FROM : SAC, Indianapolis (100-14403) (P*)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS-C

OO:NY

OCIRM

Re Indianapolis letter 10/27/66.

No information has been developed during the period 11/1/66 through 1/31/67, suitable for inclusion in a report in captioned matter.

No report being submitted.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New York (info) (RM)
- 1 - Indianapolis

TM/jlw/jcb
(5)

EX-112

REC- 62 100 - 442529-21

100-442529-2113

4 FEB 13 1967

INT. SEC.



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
ATLANTA	NEW YORK	2/10/67	2/1 - 9/67
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7-22-01 BY 60321 JAC/STP/5		REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
		SA ALAN G. SENTINELLA	:cmp
		CHARACTER OF CASE	
		INTERNAL SECURITY - C	

DATE 7-23-01 BY 60267N SEPTRF
930775

REFERENCE: Report of SA ALAN G. SENTINELLA, 11/18/66, Atlanta.

LEADS :

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Will follow captioned matter and submit quarterly report 5/1/67. 1-18-78 JTA/ell 1.14 6 N.A.B.C.

INFORMANTS :

Identity of Source

AT T-1 is

Location of Informant: (See Summary #68-117290).

Instant Report

b7D

APPROVED <i>JWH</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE <i>cm</i>	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE:		100-4-72541-2114	REC 27
9 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM) 1 - G-2, 3rd Army, Ft. McPherson, Ga. (RM) 1 - NIS, Charleston, S. C. (RM) 1 - OSI, Robins AFB, Ga. (RM) 1 - New York (100-153735) (RM) 2 - Atlanta (100-6670)		FEB 13 1967 S-109	
COPIES DESTROYED R209 DEC 30 1970		NOTATIONS	
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SSI, SMC, SPC, PAO REQUEST RECD. 77 MAR 21 1967 DATE FWD. 3/9/67 HOW FWD. 311 BY: [Signature]			

AT 100-6670

Identity of Source

✓ AT T-1 is

✓ AT T-2 is

✓ AT T-3 is

✓ AT T-4 is

✓ AT T-5 is NY 694-S*

✓ AT T-6 is

✓ AT T-7 is

✓ AT T-8 is CG 5824-S*

✓ AT T-9 is

Hecla Press,
225 Varick St., New York
(by request)

Location of Information

b7D

b7D

Instant Report

Characterize HARRY BELAFONTE,
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,
STANLEY LEVISON, HUNTER PITTS
O'DELL

Characterize JUNIUS GRIFFIN

Characterize RALPH HELSTEIN

"

"

"

"

AT 100-6670

Identity of Source

✓ AT T-10 is [REDACTED]

✓ AT T-11 is [REDACTED]

✓ AT T-12 is Anonymous source
of WFO set out in report of
SA JOHN J. WALSH, 7/19/50 at
WFO re "NLG; IS-C."

✓ AT T-13 is [REDACTED]

Location of Information

Characterize CAROL HOOVER

Characterize HUNTER PITTS
O'DELL and ROSEA WILLIAMS

Characterize HARRY WACHTEL

b7E

b7E

"

"

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report has been classified ~~SECRET~~ because
it contains information furnished by NY 694-S* [REDACTED]
It is felt this classification is necessary in order not to
compromise the nature of these highly sensitive sources.

b7E

Dissemination of information furnished by
[REDACTED] (AT T-1, AT T-2 and AT T-3) should be classified
~~Confidential~~ because this source enjoys an extremely
sensitive relationship with SCLC and dissemination of
information furnished by this source to unauthorized
individuals could reasonably result in jeopardizing his
security.

b7D

Information set forth in the details of this
report, with one exception, originates from [REDACTED]
In effort to maintain the security of this highly placed
informant three temporary symbols have been utilized
(AT T-1, AT T-2 and AT T-3) to conceal his identity.

b7D

- C* -
(COVER PAGE)

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

SECRET

Copy to: 1 - G-2, Third Army, Ft. McPherson, Georgia (RM)
1 - NIS, Charleston, South Carolina (RM)
1 - OSI, Robins Air Force Base, Georgia (RM)

Report of: SA ALAN G. SENTINELLA **Office:** Atlanta, Georgia
Date: February 10, 1967

Field Office File #: 100-6670 **Bureau File #:** 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

Headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) remain in Atlanta, Ga. and Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. continues to serve as President. CAROL HOOVER continues to serve SCLC in fund raising capacity. HOSEA WILLIAMS appointed to supervise voter registration drive, Chicago, Ill. in January, 1967. STANLEY LEVISON and HARRY WACHTEL active in regard to SCLC financial matters through SCLC mail appeal program and American Foundation on Non-Violence. CP connections and/or affiliation of HOOVER, LEVISON, WACHTEL and WILLIAMS set forth. In December, 1966 SCLC employee stated Reverend KING frequently consults with LEVISON as to action he should take regarding major SCLC matters. National headquarters of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee continues in Atlanta; no significant developments.

*Executive Vice President American Foundation
On Non-Violence*

Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society For Human Rights

SECRET
GROUP 1

**Excluded from Automatic
Downgrading and Declassification**

DECLASSIFIED BY 60267 NLSEPTINE
ON 7-23-01
930775

AT 100-6670

DETAILS:

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Characterizations of individuals referred to where available are set forth alphabetically in Section IV of this report.

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

No information developed.

AT 100-6670

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

No information developed.

**III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL MATTERS**

A. Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), as of February 1, 1967, continued to be located at 334 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia.

(AT T-1, 2-67)

Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. continued to serve as President of SCLC as of February 1, 1967.

(AT T-1, 2-67)

As of January 3, 1967, JUNIUS GRIFFIN, ^{Former} Director of Public Relations and Office Administrator, SCLC, left the employ of SCLC. *ng*

(AT T-2, 1-67)

Although CAROL HOOVER resigned as ^{Former} Director of Special Events, SCLC on September 15, 1966, she continues to assist SCLC in connection with fund raising matters. *Atlanta Ga.*

(AT T-1, 1-67)

Toward the end of October, 1966 STANLEY LEVISON was extremely anxious for SCLC to properly execute a form (not identified) which he told RALPH D. ABERNATHY, Vice President and Treasurer, SCLC, had been furnished to him by an agency (not identified) of New York State. According to LEVISON, it was necessary that this form be filed with New York State in order for SCLC to legally solicit financial contributions in that state. *UCB*

(AT T-2, 10-66)

AT 100-6670

As of November 3, 1966 CAROL HOOVER was handling some arrangements for SCLC in connection with an SCLC benefit program to be held in Houston, Texas on a future date. From this program HOOVER expected SCLC to realize from \$25,000 to \$50,000.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (AT T-1, 11-66)

member
C.P. Member
International President of the United Packinghouse Food And Allied Workers
During the forepart of November, 1966, RALPH HELSTEIN furnished SCLC \$2500 representing a contribution from the United Packing House, Food and Allied Workers, American Foundation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations. *5906 South Blackstone Ave. Chicago 90, Ill.*

(AT T-3, 11-66)

Ill.
Shortly after the first of November, 1966, Reverend KING appointed HOSEA WILLIAMS, Director of Voter Registration, Political Education and in Charge of Southern Field Staff, SCLC, to assume charge of an extensive SCLC voter registration drive to be conducted in Chicago, Illinois during January, 1967.

(AT T-3, 11-66)

During the middle of November, 1966 STANLEY LEVISON explained to Reverend KING that income from the SCLC mail appeal program was substantial. Therefore, LEVISON requested Reverend KING take necessary action to have all bills incurred in connection with operation of the mail appeal program paid up by SCLC while funds were available. Reverend KING indicated he would take this action.

(AT T-2, 11-66)

AT 100-6670

The SCLC mail appeal program is conducted by the New York City Office of SCLC under the general supervision of STANLEY LEVISON.

(AT T-1, 11-66)

On November 21 and 22, 1966, Reverend KING called a meeting of SCLC officers for the purpose of considering methods of raising funds for SCLC. HOSEA WILLIAMS and JUNIUS GRIFFIN each attended part of this meeting. STANLEY LEVISON attended the entire meeting and actively participated in an advisory capacity. During this meeting a discussion took place on the question of whether Reverend KING should charge an admission when he speaks publicly. Reverend KING pointed out he had always felt the public was entitled to hear him without charge. LEVISON disagreed with Reverend KING's position declaring the civil rights movement had progressed to a point where the public should expect to pay to hear Reverend KING. A final decision was not reached regarding this matter.

(AT T-1, 11-66)

During the aforementioned meeting, LEVISON made reference to a conference recently held between Reverend KING and JAMES HOFFA, President of the Teamsters Union. He pointed out this had been an excellent meeting but mentioned no details. He suggested that as a fund raising method, SCLC consider utilizing HOFFA's cooperation and sell individual memberships in SCLC to influential Negro and white persons within the sphere of HOFFA's influence, including people in and out of organized labor. LEVISON contended that HOFFA knew many such people who would be only too happy to become affiliated with SCLC in an honorary type membership organization and who would also periodically assist SCLC financially.

AT 100-6670

LEVISON went on to suggest the sale of memberships through the assistance of HOFFA not be limited to professional people but include the so-called working class. He made effort to differentiate between professional groups and the working class by explaining that it will be the working class, not the professional people, who ultimately will look to SCLC for assistance in seeking "social change" (not defined).

Reverend KING expressed neither agreement nor disagreement with LEVISON's suggestions. He said he felt that currently SCLC did not have available adequate executive personnel to handle the administrative details incidental to implementing LEVISON's suggestions. The meeting did not reach a final conclusion as to action SCLC would take regarding the proposals made by LEVISON.

(AT T-3, 11-66)

Shortly before Thanksgiving, 1966 Reverend KING mentioned to several officers of SCLC that the forthcoming SCLC benefit to be held in Houston had been postponed until the early part of 1967. He said he intended to ask HARRY BELAFONTE to participate in this benefit program and to also obtain the assistance of a number of other noted entertainers (not identified).

(AT T-2, 11-66)

SCLC held a retreat from November 13 through November 16, 1966 at Penn Center, Frogmore, South Carolina. As of the end of November, 1966 pursuant to a request of Reverend KING, HARRY WACHTEL, Executive Vice President, American Foundation on Non-Violence (AFN), furnished SCLC \$3,000 of AFN funds to assist SCLC in meeting expenses occasioned by this retreat.

(AT T-2, 11-66)

AT 100-6670

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

U.S. HARCOURT KLINEFELTER, employee, Public Relations Department, SCLC, on December 8, 1966, discussed with several employees of SCLC, the frequent major decisions which Reverend KING finds it necessary to make in connection with SCLC operations. KLINEFELTER said that in regard to many issues of major importance, Reverend KING often confers with STANLEY LEVISON prior to reaching a decision as to what action he should take. KLINEFELTER did not mention any details in this connection.

(AT T-3, 12-66)

Ill During the middle of December, 1966 STANLEY LEVISON informed the Finance Office of SCLC that as a result of solicitations (not explained) being made by SCLC's New York City Office, SCLC headquarters in Atlanta would soon begin to receive contributions payable to the Southern Christian Leadership Foundation (SCLF). LEVISON explained these contributions would be received by SCLC via mail and it would be necessary to forward them to ~~CHAUNCEY~~ ESKRIDGE, SCLC Legal Counselor, Chicago, who would handle them on behalf of SCLF.

(AT T-1, 12-66)

U.S. On December 19, 1966 Reverend KING explained to several officers of SCLC it was necessary for SCLC to fill a vacancy on the Board of Directors of SCLF. Reverend KING stated he wanted this vacancy to be filled either by ~~ANDREW J. YOUNG~~, Executive Director, SCLC, or STANLEY LEVISON, in order that SCLC would not experience difficulty in obtaining money from SCLF.

(AT T-1, 12-66)

AT 100-6670

As of December 27, 1966, HARRY WACHTEL forwarded \$4,000 from AFN to SCLC via a check drawn on AFN's account with the Chemical Bank New York Trust Company, New York City.

(AT T-3, 12-66)

On December 27, 1966 ANDREW J. YOUNG mentioned to RALPH D. ABERNATHY that one ANNE FARNSWORTH had recently donated \$50,000 to SCLC. YOUNG said at the present time STANLEY LEVISON was in possession of this money. He did not explain why LEVISON had this money.

Possible Member / Southern Christian Leadership Conference

(AT T-2, 12-66)

During the latter part of December, 1966 HOSEA WILLIAMS mentioned to a number of SCLC employees that Reverend KING had previously raised (method not stated) \$10,000 to assist residents of Grenada, Mississippi in their development of a retail business establishment. WILLIAMS said he had determined from Reverend KING that this sum of money was currently in the possession of HARRY WACHTEL. According to WILLIAMS, Reverend KING had agreed to request WACHTEL to forward this money to SCLC in order that WILLIAMS could utilize it in connection with SCLC activities in Mississippi.

(AT T-1, 12-66)

During the early part of January, 1967, while discussing other SCLC matters with several officers of SCLC, ANDREW J. YOUNG stressed the necessity of avoiding any publicity as to the relationship between AFN and SCLC. He pointed out that SCLC was extremely anxious that nothing jeopardize the tax exempt status of AFN.

(AT T-3, 1-67)

AT 100-6670

HARRY WACHTEL, in the forepart of January, 1967 furnished approximately \$2,000 of funds of AFN to SCLC. This money, according to WACHTEL, was for the purpose of assisting SCLC in paying expenses it incurred while conducting demonstrations in Mississippi during the summer of 1966.

(AT T-3, 1-67)

B. Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

As of February 1, 1967, National Headquarters of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) continued to be located at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta.

(AT T-4, 2-67)

No pertinent change in officers or personnel of SNCC has occurred since this matter was last reported.

(AT T-4, 2-67)

AT 100-6670

AGS/ovr

IV. CHARACTERIZATIONS

HARRY BELAFONTE

As of October 28, 1958, according to JEAN SMITH, Secretary at Communist Party Headquarters, New York, HARRY BELAFONTE had been a member of the Young Communist League (YCL) before coming into prominence as an entertainer.

The YCL has been designated by the U. S. Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

(AT T-5, 10-58)

JUNIUS GRIFFIN

A flyer distributed by the Militant Labor Forum, announcing a party scheduled for May 30, 1964, at 116 University Place, New York City, which was for the purpose of welcoming home the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) presidential candidate. Scheduled to participate in a symposium at this affair was one JUNIUS GRIFFIN, author of "New York Times Series on Harlem Hate Gangs." This symposium was described as relating to "What's Behind Harlem Hate Gang Scare?"

(AT T-6, 6-64)

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

AT 100-6670
AGS/ovr

RALPH HELSTEIN

As of June 16, 1964, RALPH HELSTEIN resided at 5806 South Blackstone Avenue, Chicago, and was the International President of the United Packinghouse Food and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO, with offices at 608 South Dearborn Street, Chicago.

(AT T-7, 6-64)

Source advised in November, 1953, that he was recently advised that HELSTEIN was registered in the Communist Party about 1946, that he (HELSTEIN) joined under pressure and remained in the Party organizationally only a few months.

(AT T-8, 11-53)

As of June 20, 1956, RALPH HELSTEIN, 603 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, was a member of the National Lawyers Guild.

(AT T-9, 6-56)

✓ A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is set forth in the Appendix Section of this report.

CAROL HOOVER

A news item in "The Atlanta Daily World" (an Atlanta, Georgia, daily Negro newspaper), dated May 21, 1965, entitled "Albany 'Justice' Assailed" datelined Hapeville, Georgia, sets forth information regarding a semi-annual board meeting of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) held in Hapeville during the previous weekend. The article reports that Miss CAROL

AT 100-6670
AGS/ovr

HOOVER, Atlanta, Georgia, an administrative assistant at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was one of four new members added to the board of SCEF at this meeting.

A characterization of SCEF is set forth in the Appendix Section of this report.

On August 22, 1964, CAROL HOOVER of SCLC, Atlanta, Georgia, told STANLEY LEVISON she was glad to have seen him at a party the previous Wednesday.

She also asked LEVISON for a financial contribution to the campaign fund of DONALD L. HOLLOWELL who was running for Judge of the Superior Court, Atlanta, Georgia.

LEVISON advised HOOVER that in response to her request he had contributed \$50.

(AT T-10, 8-64)

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

A Communist Party functionary described MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., as a confirmed Marxist in February 1962.

(AT T-5, 2-62)

STANLEY LEVISON

Active In Southern Leadership Conference

STANLEY LEVISON was a secret member of the Communist Party (CP), USA, in July, 1963. In late 1963, and early 1964, he criticized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. LEVISON was described by certain CP leaders as being

AT 100-6670
AGS/ovr

to the "left" of the CP in his position in civil rights. LEVISON's differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism.

X
(AT T-5, 4-64)

HUNTER PITTS O'DELL

In July, 1962, HUNTER PITTS O'DELL, also known as JACK H. O'DELL, was considered by the Communist Party, USA, as a member of its National Committee. *US*

(AT-5, (7/62)
FOV

HUNTER PITTS O'DELL told EDWINA SMITH December 27, 1963, he would not go back to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference on the same basis because he is now a "left person" and if they cannot accept him the way he is then they will have to forget about him.

(AT T-11, 12-63)

HARRY WACHTEL

HARRY WACHTEL is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York, New York. He resides at 29 Split Rock Drive, Kings Point, Long Island, New York.

Source furnished information in December, 1949, that HARRY H. WACHTEL, 41 Broad Street, New York, New York, was on the list of individuals carried as active members of the National Lawyers Guild.

(AT T-12)

AT 100-6670
AGS/ovr

On March 5, 1944, source furnished information which revealed that the name HARRY WACHTEL was on the list of names, significance not known, which was maintained at the Headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party at 26 Court Street, Brooklyn, New York.

(AT T-13)

Regarding HARRY WACHTEL's wife, LEONORA, it is noted that the same source furnished information on March 5, 1944, which revealed her name and address were on a list of names of newly-elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County CP.

A characterization of the Gandhi Society is set forth in the Appendix Section of this report.

HOSEA WILLIAMS

On October 3, 1964, RUTH BAILEY, then an employee of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, (SCLC), Harlem, New York Office, while discussing several SCLC personalities with one CONNIE CAMPBELL, referred to WILLIAMS. BAILEY said WILLIAMS had mentioned to her (date not specified) that on a prior occasion (date not specified) HUNTER PITTS O'DELL had told him more about politics than he could read.

(AT T-4, 10-64)

APPENDIX

AT 100-6670

1

GANDHI SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The Gandhi Society for Human Rights was formed for the purpose of developing a philosophy and technique of non-violent civil rights protests. It is a non-action organization and makes no attempt to influence legislation nor participate in demonstrations. The Society furnishes legal assistance in certain civil rights cases. The organization was incorporated June 14, 1962.

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SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

"The Southern Patriot," a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW dated April 26, 1946, changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals.

The SCEF is self-described as having deep roots in the South where it began as the educational wing of the SCHW, organized in 1938 to work for economic and political reform. When the SCHW disbanded in the late 1940's, SCEF continued as an independent organization, rallying support for integration and democracy and helping to stimulate and nurture new movements of the early 1960's. The SCEF maintained headquarters in Louisiana for twenty years, but in 1966 moved its headquarters to Louisville, Kentucky.

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a Communist Party functionary, stated at a meeting of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the Communist Party is not connected with any progressive movement but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

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A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on June 8, 1966, that during the time that the SCHW was in existence members of the Communist Party were members of and worked actively in the SCHW; however, since the formation of the SCEF, Communist Party members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a Communist Party front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial issue.

CARL BRADEN and ANNE BRADEN, Director and Associate Director respectively of the SCEF, were identified by ALBERTA AHEARN, 2311 Payne, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party, on December 13, 1954, in her testimony in Jefferson County, Kentucky, Court in the prosecution of CARL BRADEN under a state sedition statute as members of the Communist Party in Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951, to December, 1954.

A third source advised on May 28, 1965, that GEORGE MEYERS, a Communist Party functionary, expressed great admiration for CARL and ANNE BRADEN and the SCEF, with which they are affiliated, and expressed the view that the SCEF is the best organization in the South as far as doing effective work is concerned and that they have a better idea of what they are doing, where they are heading, and influence other organizations for the better.

The second source also advised on June 8, 1966, that many people who are officials and supporters of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means Communists.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
February 10, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

FD 323

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA ALAN G. SENTINELLA, dated and captioned as above, at Atlanta, Georgia.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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